

# SLOVAKIA

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ANDREJ HLINKA'S CENTENNIAL

# The Slovak League of America

- is an AMERICAN INSTITUTION; it was organized May 26, 1907, at Cleveland, O., by the Rev. Stephen Furdek;
- is a CULTURAL and CIVIC organization of Americans of Slovak descent;
- is interested primarily in promoting the welfare and security of the United States of America;
- represents an overwhelming majority of organized Americans of Slovak descent; actively affiliated with it are the largest Slovak fraternals, religious organizations, Slovak Clubs and Slovak civic organizations in the United States;
- is dedicated to American Democracy, the American way of life, and encourages Americans of Slovak descent to be loyal and alert citizens of America; it urges and aids Slovak emigrants to become U. S. citizens by publishing appropriate manuals and brochures in Slovak and English;
- is dedicated to works of charity, materially and morally aids Slovaks, here and abroad, who may be in need of such aid; it supports the American Red Cross, Red Feather Campaigns and other American charitable projects;
- wants to help Americans of Slovak descent in American political life, in business or professions, in social standing, and along educational lines;
- through its Ladies Auxiliary, the "VČIELKY" (Bees), sponsors Slovak cultural displays, concerts, lectures, art exhibits, folk festivals, social evenings, etc. Our aim is to have a "Hive" of our "Včielky" in every large Slovak community;
- promotes a better understanding and appreciation of the Slovak nation, its history, culture, traditions, achievements and its long, hard struggle for freedom and independence;
- firmly believes in the American principle of self-determination of all nations, the inherent and God-given right of every nation, whether large or small, to freedom and

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Francis Vnuk:

## THE CENTENARY OF ANDREJ HLINKA Born: September 27, 1864 Died: August 16, 1938

From the beginning of the 10th century Slovakia was an integral part of the multilingual, multinational kingdom of Hungary. Then at the beginning of the 19th century the Magyars, as the dominant racial group of the kingdom, in sharp contrast to the explicit wishes of the saitly king Stephen — Regnum unius linguae, unius moris imbecile et fragile est (a kingdom where only one language and one custom prevails is weak and fragile) — launched an all-out drive for a unilingual national state. This could, of course, happen only at the expense of the national minorities, of which the Slovaks were affected the most severely. In 1848 the Magyar revolutionary leader, L. Kossuth, wrote in 'Pesti Hirlap': "Amen, amen I say unto you, there never was and cannot be a Slovak nation in Hungary." Another outstanding Magyar politician, K. Tisza, uttered in a Parliamentary debate on December 15, 1875 his notoriously famous statement: "There is no Slovak nation." The words were followed by actions; the Magyars did all that was humanly possible to deprive the Slovaks of their nationality.

Into this oppressive and all-prevading era of magyarization entered Hlinka, as a young student and young priest. The pastoral duties gave him plenty of opportunities to see the abysmal injustice wrought by magyarization on his own peoples as well as the reckless immorality of the perpetrators of this denationalization policy. To free the village people from the economic grip of foreign inn— and shopkeepers — the frontline Magyarizers — he founded Christian temperance societies and cooperative associations. He fought corruption and exploitation trough newspaper articles, public speeches and addresses. In order to carry this struggle on to the floor of the Parliament he entered the

electoral contest in the 1898 election but was defeated by 150 votes.

His fearless defense of people's rights and his determined struggle with the state authorities made him soon a national hero and at the same time brought him into sharp conflict with the oppressors. After many threats and smaller punishments, heavy blows started to fall in 1906. For his support of the Slovak candidate (V. Šrobár) in the 1906 election (Šrobár lost by 104 votes) he was suspended by his bishop A. Párvy "ab ordine et officio" and then arrested. After five months in prison he was sentenced at a well-publicized trial on November 26th, 1906 to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 1500 crowns. When he returned from prison he was condemned to a further 18 months' imprisonment and a fine of 200 crowns on a charge of "incitement". This charge was based on two farewell articles written before his entry into the Szeged prison.

It was obvious that these vindictive sentences, as well as the unjust suspension by his bishop, were aimed at breaking Hlinka's spirit, to strike terror among the Slovak leaders and to deprive the whole nation of its ablest spokesmen and fighters. But it was just this treatment that transformed Hlinka in the minds of people into a national figure. Very soon his name outgrew the local Slovak scene and outside his enslaved country it became synonymous with the unjust oppression meted out on the hapless Slovaks by the chauvinist Magyar government. In Moravia and Bohemia especially Hlinka found many ardent friends and supporters. It was largely due to the Moravian Catholic clergy that in the delicate matter of Hlinka's suspension the Vatican decided in Hlinka's favour and against his bishop.

But in the meantime there occurred on October 27th, 1907 a bloody incident at Hlinka's birthplace, Černová. Here the villagers with Hlinka's help built a church. Naturally they wanted Hlinka at its consecration. But since Hlinka was under suspension, the bishop ordered that the church be consecrated by another priest. This priest came to Černová with an armed escort of gendarmes. When the village crowd blocked their entry, the gendarmes fired without warning, killing nine people and wounding some 50 (of whom six subsequently died).

This massacre enraged the whole civilized world. Among the advocates of the Slovak cause were such prominent intellectual personalities of the time as B. Björnson, L. N. Tolstoy, but the most effective was the voice of R. W. Seton-Watson. In his book "Racial problems in Hungary" (1908) — where he placed Hlinka's portrait as the frontispiece — Seton-Watson meticulously and dispassionately exposed the chauvinist Magyar policies and made a powerful plea for better treatment of the national minorities in Hungary. His admiration for Hlinka was sincere and well-merited. "I held then — wrote Seton-Watson in 'The new Slovakia' (1924) — and still hold, the Hlinka was at that moment in many ways the most characteristic figure in the struggle of the Slovak nation against magyarization. He stood among other things for that devotion to religion as they conceived it, for that outraged moral sense which have characterised the Slovaks in modern times."

The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary was indeed desperate. Looking for help Hlinka cast his eyes first and foremost at the Moravians and the Czechs who — though under Austrian rule — were enjoying incomparably wider freedom. Union with the Czechs figured prominently in his thinking. He defiantly declared before the court of Bratislava (on May 4th, 1908) :

"Whether our Magyar brothers like it or not, the fact remains eternally true that we Slovaks form with the Czechs a single race, a single culture, a single nation."

On the other hand it must be mentioned that Hlinka strongly opposed the influence of the Czech freethinkers, liberals and socialists and made this stand very clear in his vehement attacks on the Hlasists — Masaryk's followers in Slovakia.

Then came the first world war and at its end Slovakia experienced the most revolutionary change in its history. When it came to the vital question as to what was going to happen to the Slovaks, Hlinka knew the answer and was most outspoken about it. With his enthusiasm he converted to the idea of a Czecho-Slovak state the hesitant and doubting. At the meeting of Slovak leaders on October 30th, 1918 he declared:

"This is the time to act . . . Let us state it plainly that

we stand for the Czecho-Slovak solution. Our thousand year old marriage with the Magyars was a failure and our roads must now part."

Hlinka's bold action and the weight of his authority, more than anything else, swayed public opinion in Slovakia towards the general acceptance of a political union with the Czechs in one state.

In the collapse of Magyar domination over Slovakia Hlinka saw the victory of the martyred Slovak truth. As he repeatedly stated, he saw in the political upheaval of 1918-19 the finger of God who in His eternal justice "depositus potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles" (hath put down the mighty from their seat and exalted the humble).

Yet the dawn of the new era did not fulfill Hlinka's expectations. From the beginning the rule of Slovakia passed into the hands of a close circle of men who enjoyed not so much the confidence of the Slovak people as the confidence of the authorities in Prague. They excluded Hlinka from any share of power and responsibility, though he was without question the best known, most respected and most severely persecuted fighter for the Slovak cause.

Equally disappointing were the Czech officials, legionaries and administrators who poured into Slovakia in 1918-19 to take over the positions vacated by the Magyar officialdom. In their dealings with the Slovaks the Czech newcomers were very tactless, arrogant and offensive. The British Minister to Prague, Cecil Gosling, visited Slovakia in November 1919 and had this to report to his government:

The Czech administration of the Slovaks has been one of harsh and, in some cases, brutal domination with a result that the political situation is precarious and there is a considerable party in favour of complete autonomy and the establishment of a Slovakia Parliament.

The following are the main errors of Czech administration:

1. Hostility to the Roman Catholic Church evinced by Czech soldiers and officials and which includes the desecration and mutilation of crucifixes and holy images, interruption of marriages and similar offenses against the principles of culture and decency.
2. The country has been flooded with Czech officials and the Slovaks dismissed, or if employed, they receive from one half to two thirds less pay than the Czechs.
3. Corruption in the public offices.
4. Attempts to substitute the Czech for the Slovak language.

On my return I saw Monsieur Beneš, the Foreign Minister (in the absence of the President who is indisposed), and I represented these facts to him.

The Minister replied without equivocation that he was aware that my statements were perfectly correct, and that: —

- I. Steps would be immediately taken for the cessation in Slovakia of all religious hostility and intolerance and the Slovaks should be at once informed that his Government had opened relations with the Vatican, acknowledged the appointment of the new Archbishop of Prague, and were sending within the next few days a representative to the Holy See.
- II. That arrangements would be made to stop the transmission to Slovakia of fresh Czech officials and that all officials salaries, whether paid to Czechs or Slovaks, would be on an equal footing.
- III. That assurance should be definitely made that the Government had no intention of imposing the Czech language in the place of the ancient Slovak tongue ...

Hlinka recognized these facts much earlier than Gosling nad was genuinely grieved by this unexpected development. He sensed that the Slovaks had only exchanged the Magyar rule for the Czech one. Then in the summer of 1919 he learned that President Masaryk had concluded during the war an agreement with the Slovaks in America in which full autonomy for Slovakia was guaranteed. Edged on by his associates, especially Dr. F. Jehlička, Hlinka travelled to Paris (on a Polish passport and under an assumed name) and submitted a memorandum to the Peace Conference there, protesting against the Czech injustices and seeking to secure autonomy for the Slovak nation. ("Le droit à l'existence nous a été accordé par le Créateur; nous espérons que la glorieuse Conference de la Paix nous le garantira contre l'injustice des hommes" — he pleaded.) But he was not heard, and what is more, he and his companions were expelled from Paris. After his unsuccessful venture Hlinka returned in Oct. 1919 to Slovakia (his associates dispersed to Poland, Hungary and the USA) where he was arrested by the Prague authorities. This step met with violent disapproval from the Slovak population and demonstrated (if such a demonstration was necessary) how high Hlinka's standing and popularity were among the Slovaks. The British Minister reported in his dispatch:

PRAGUE, October 20, 1919

My Lord,

Father Hlinka, a Slovak Priest, whose anti-Czech policy has been referred to by me in previous despatches, was arrested by order of the Government on the 13th instant.

Following this event, rioting occurred in Slovakia, as well as some hostile demonstrations against the French officers on duty there.

The situation was regarded as serious by the Government and, at a Cabinet Council it was decided to invoke the assistance of Dr. Kordáč, the Archbishop of Prague to calm the people who are incensed by the anti-clerical policy of the Czechs and the unsympathetic rule of their authorities.

The Archbishop promised to give all the assistance in his power and it is hoped that the authority of the Church will have a good effect in quelling disorder.

It is significant that a Government which has consistently shown itself anti-clerical, should now invoke the assistance of the body it has hostilized and points, indeed, to gravity of the situation.

The President and his Ministers have asked me to proceed to Slovakia to meet and converse with the leading Slovaks and I am accordingly proceeding to Bratislava tomorrow, accompanied by Colonel Coulson, the Military Attaché.

I have, &c.,  
CECIL GOSLING

Hlinka stayed in a Czech prison six months. But he was never tried. Upon his election to the Parliament in 1920 the Czech government released him from custody.

The first free election in Slovakia, in the spring of 1920, brought sweeping victory to the Social Democrats. On his return from prison Hlinka vowed: "I will not stop working till red Slovakia becomes white Slovakia again." Into this fight he threw the whole weight of his magnetic personality, his unique gift of eloquence and his crusading zeal. The inept rule of the Social Democrats and internal strife within their party (leading in 1921 to a split which subsequently gave birth to the Communist party) made his task so much easier. The Prague government imposed on Slovaks a harsh rule of rigid centralism. The economic discrimination against the Slovaks resulted in the ruining of Slovak industry, unemployment, mass emigration and the relegation of Slovakia to the status of a colony. It provoked an upsurge of intense nationalism and Hlinka skillfully channelled these feelings into a forceful popular movement.

In November 1921 Hlinka dissociated his party from the Šrámek's People's Party and under the name of Hlinka's People's Party entered the 1925 election. The party emerged victorious, capturing some 50% of the total votes cast. By this convincing victory Hlinka redeemed his promise "to

whiten red Slovakia." His party became the strongest Slovak political party and retained this primacy till the end of the first Czechoslovak Republic.

Hlinka's personality loomed large over the Slovak political scene in the interwar period. Few of Hlinka's many adversaries would concede him the status of a mature politician, but none could deny his indisputable leadership of the Slovak masses who followed him with confidence and dedication. Hlinka knew now to appeal to the elementary instincts of the Slovak peasantry and intelligentsia and in his program he embodied their nationalist feelings and justified demands. His followers came from all walks of life; it was often said that his organization was not a political party but a broad popular movement.

By temperament Hlinka was a man of moods and passions and his impulsive character was proverbial. His tactics were very often erratic and incomprehensible, but in matters of principle he was uncompromising. He summed up the whole program of his movement in a simple motto: For God and nation. He saw himself as a defender of Slovak Christian tradition against the flood of modern antireligious currents of thought and socialist materialism — which led one critic to write of him: He is first and foremost a churchman, and his many high qualities are far better suited to an ecclesiastical than to a political career — and secondly a fighter for Slovak autonomy which was promised in the Pittsburgh Agreement. In the pursuit of these two cornerstones of his program Hlinka was most resolute and unyielding.

Though he possessed the rare ability of winning the trust and support of a large section of the Slovak population he was not always happy in the selection of and in working with his closest comrades-at-arms. Unworthy individuals like Jehlička, Tuka, Macháček rose high in the party ranks and manipulated at times even Hlinka himself. At other times Hlinka authoritatively cast out of the party personalities like Juriga, Koza-Matejov, Kolísek who definitely deserved better treatment and a more sympathetic hearing.

When all is said and done Hlinka's greatness did not lie in the field of high politics and diplomacy but in his close and intimate ties with the people. The whole nation was al-

ways ready to follow him through thick and thin. There was the strength of Hlinka's movement. No political party could have possibly survived unscathed such blows as the Tuka affair, such political blunders as the fruitless and frustrating entry into a coalition government, such defections and expulsions of its leading members, so many attempts at fragmentation and such a loose and haphazard administration. Hlinka's People's Party managed to pass through these crises and emerge unbroken, though not unshaken.

By the early 1930's Hlinka had become a father-figure of the Slovak people; his popularity was there for the whole world to see. When in 1933 the Prague government tried to by-pass Hlinka during a national celebration at Nitra, a hundred-thousand strong crowd on the verge of revolt successfully demanded to be addressed by Hlinka. The struggle for autonomy still continued, but now it was further enhanced and more ably executed by the infusion of new blood from the growing ranks of the young Slovak intelligentsia.

In the summer of 1938 the Slovak nation in a spectacular manifestation at Bratislava demanded the realization of their promised autonomy. The greatest mass of people in Slovak history spontaneously and enthusiastically greeted Hlinka as its leader in grateful recognition of his selfless fight for autonomy. Moved to tears Hlinka answered in a short speech which was to be his farewell address. On August 16th, 1938 Hlinka died.

Less than two months later, on October 6th, 1938, Slovak autonomy was solemnly proclaimed at Žilina and on March 14th, 1939 an independent Slovak state was declared by the Slovak Parliament. At an early imposing session of this National Assembly a law was passed (No. 83 of April 25th, 1939) which gratefully acknowledged Hlinka's merits in the struggle for the common good of the Slovak people:

ANDREJ HLINKA SA ZASLÚŽIL O SLOVENSKÝ  
NÁROD.

**CANADIAN TRANSLATOR OF SLOVAK POETRY  
PROFESSOR WATSON KIRKCONNELL****J. M. Kirschbaum**

The American scholar R. A. Kann, writing on Slovak cultural development said that "at the turn of the nineteenth century Slovak nationalism, as evidenced by a rich harvest of national cultural activities, came to the fore within an incredibly short time. In its intensity of national emotion and fullness of cultural achievement it was second to none of the other Slav nationalities in the Habsburg empire" (1). Rare however were Western or American scholars who took cognizance of the development in such a positive way, and whose opinion on Slovak cultural life was as favorable as that expressed by Prof. R. A. Kann.

For a long time it was merely a handful of Western scholars who were interested in Slovakia's existence, and still lesser number of those who paid attention to Slovak cultural achievements. The famous Norwegian B. Björnson, Scotus Viator (Prof. R. Seton-Watson), and Ernest Denis of the Sorbonne exhaust the list of prominent Western scholars, and writers who, before 1918, drew the attention of the European and English-speaking world to the Slovak culture.

Scotus Viator in his book **Racial Problems in Hungary**, published several interesting essays on Slovak popular art and poetry (2). E. Denis gave an account of the whole Slovak cultural development before 1918, and found Slovak poetry worthy of reading, not only as far as the period of Romanticism is concerned, but also the classic epics and lyrics of Ján Hollý (1785-1849) who enriched Slovak literature by his masterful translations from many Greek and Latin poets, and by his own poetic works as well (3).

Nevertheless, we can say that not earlier than after the First and again after the Second World War, the Western scholars made some sporadic and serious attempts to become acquainted with and to evaluate Slovak literature and its branch—poetry—in the context of Slavic or European literatures. We note with special interest that among them was also a Canadian scholar and translator of poetry of many European nations, Professor Watson Kirkcon-

nell (4), who as early as in the first decade after the First World War published three translations from Slovak poets.

Professor Kirkconnell took a courageous attitude towards people immigrating to Canada and their cultural heritage and became a sort of cultural ambassador for European culture in Canada.

In 1935, in the Preface to his book **Canadian Overtones**, his credo and the reasons why he became interested in the poetry and culture of other than Anglo-Saxon Canadians in the following lines:

"Our national attitude towards them (i.e., European immigrants) has already passed through two ignorant and discreditable phases. In the first phase, we tended to despise them as European coolies, imported to do heavy work for which our hands had already grown too delicate. In the second and more recent phase, we have been patronizingly interested in their folk-costumes and folk-dances, picturesque incidentals which have about as much vital share in their lives as the kilt and the Highland fling have in that of the average Scotch-Canadian. Their poetry, however, may help us to develop a third and much truer attitude towards them, as 'beings breathing thoughtful breath', men and women as capable as any amongst us of appreciating the beauties and the philosophies of this world (5).

"I foresee a further value in this poetry," continues Kirkconnell. "It should help to develop in succeeding generations a Canadianism nourished by pride in the individual's racial past. There is nothing so shallow and sterile as the man who denies his ancestry. The 'one hundred per cent' American (or Canadian) is commonly one who has deliberately suppressed an alien origin in order to reap the material benefits of a well-advertised loyalty. There can be little hope of noble spiritual issues from such a prostituted patriotism. Unfortunately, it is abetted by the ignorant assumption of many an English-speaking citizen that alien origin is a natural mark of inferiority. He who thinks thus is a mental hooligan—whether he be lawyer, militia colonel, or bishop of the church. What we sorely need, on the contrary, is enough common intelligence to recognize both the rich diversity of racial gifts on this earth and the strength which racial roots can contribute to the individual" (6).

Kirkconnell wrote an inspired warning to new Canadians and to his Anglo-Saxon countrymen as well with regard to hasty or forced integration and assimilation.

"Prophetic hopes" — he wrote in the same book — "would envisage a future Canada in which every individual would be thus inspired to fuller citizenship by his realization of his origin, whatever that might be. There is already, however, grave danger of the third and even the second generation of Swedish, Ukrainian, and other immigrant groups turning their backs on the language and history of their own people in a hasty act of renunciation. That they should be speedily integrated into loyal co-operation with our general Canadian population is, of course, of supreme national importance. But it would be tragic if there should at the same time by a clumsy stripping-away of all those spiritual associations with the past which help to give depth and beauty to life" (7).

To prove the righteousness of his convictions and conceptions, Prof. Kirkconnell published some 30 books, studies and essays and several volumes of translations (8).

#### **Dr. Kirkconnell's Translations of Slovak Poetry**

In the preface to his volume **European Elegies**, Prof. Kirkconnell wrote that his translations do not pretend to be "adequately representative" of European elegy. "As a matter of fact," says Kirkconnell, "I have attempted "merely to translate those poems towards which I have felt the strongest emotional reaction." He also says that the "limitation of this method has been intensified by the narrow range of my humble bookshelves" (9).

We humbly assume that we may apply the above confession also to the translations from Slovak poetry. The three poems which Prof. Kirkconnell translated are certainly not "adequately representative" of Slovak poetry, but their choice was not unfortunate. Hviezdoslav is the greatest of Slovak poets in many poetic genres and Vajanský's manifold literary activities made of him an outstanding representative of Slovak literature in prose and verse (10).

Literary historians or critics would certainly appreciate to know how this distinguished Canadian scholar was translating European poetry from 50 languages, having in com-

mon only their Indo-European origin. Prof. Kirkconnell answers this question in the following lines:

"My method of translation is comparatively simple. First choosing some poem that had moved me in the original, I keep that original before me, mumbling it aloud and brooding over it until I have saturated my mind with its emotion. Then I endeavour to reproduce its form and spirit in English as accurately as possible, reserving only the conviction that a literal translation is inherently criminal and that my verse rendering which sacrifices beauty to philology is a blasphemous offence in its very existence" (11).

Prof. Kirkconnell also explained why he undertook the arduous task of translating from the poetry of so many nations.

"Modern nations are unhappily isolated"—says Prof. Kirkconnell—"and estranged by their very loyalties to speech, kind, and faith. But in the presence of the ultimate they may all join hands in community of spirit. Beyond race and creed and language are the fundamental sanctities of human life, love, tenderness, sorrow, fortitude." The translations were done for the translator at least, a Siloam of these healing waters, flowing in from fifty linguistic hillsides of human experience, and I gain strength from them in the hope that they may contribute its stream to the ocean of understanding that shall one day consummate its cleansing, reconciling task of pure ablution round earth's human shores" (12).

The translation of the three Slovak poems (13) rendered by Dr. Kirkconnell follows:

### THE BLOODY SONNETS

P. O. Hviezdoslav

Song has no place in these high days of pain:  
Fate calls for blood, that, splashed from heart to hand,  
Is cast abroad to consecrate the land  
And from dead stones draw golden ears of grain,  
Blood brings the splendor of the sun again,  
Lighting our darkness with a flashing brand;  
Blood brings the dawn that men may understand;  
Blood brings the bread of Freedom to sustain.

Only by blood, outpoured in rage and flame,  
Can we destroy the stubble and the tares—  
Sweeping away our slavery and shame  
Like putrid flotsam that a swift stream bears.  
And while that cleansing tide leaps on in flood,  
Mere song is silenced in the Song of Blood.

## LOSS

**P. O. Hviezdoslav**

The spring has gone. And I have lost the flowers  
I might have gathered from its meadow-grass.  
I merely marked the sudden sprig aspire  
Up through the turf in frost and golden fire,  
And, as I dallied, saw that glory pass  
As swiftly as the rainbow of June showers.  
Ah, maiden beauty, fleeting are thy hours!

Summer has gone. And I have missed the gleaning  
I might have gathered from its harvest-field.  
I merely marked the flaming wheat-waves swaying  
Across the leas where summer winds were playing;  
But as I gazed, time seized that yellow yield  
And fate forestalled by frantic intervening—  
Ah, love, at last I now thy tragic meaning!

Autumn has come. Bare stubbled prairies taunt me  
In my sad brooding on what might have been.  
Across the sky the haggard mists are weaving  
A fog-shroud for the dying sun's receiving;  
And fears of these dark days, bereavement's keen  
Heart-hunger and deep thirst of spirit haunt me.  
Alas, the terrors of love's winter daunt me!

## HOPE

**Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (14)**

Snows are now deep in the valleys;  
Drifts lie in mountains appalling.  
What but the sunshine can slay them?  
What but the rain in its falling?

Miseries cumber the nation,  
Weight the chilled earth and outwear it.

Woe to my pitiful people  
How are they able to bear it?

But with sun comes rejoicing,  
Smiting the snows down with slaughter;  
See, where the drifts lay in rancor,  
Runnels of muddy water.

Freedom's bright sun is now dawning,  
Wasting our woes with its glory;  
See, where oppression once crushed us,  
Vanish the murderous story!

#### **Dr. Kirkconnell's Attitude Towards Slovakia**

For one who knows that after 1918 the Prague government made great efforts and spent lots of money in order to hide the fact that Slovaks were not Czechs and that they were dissatisfied with the Czech rule and its assimilatory tendencies, Prof. Kirkconnell's interest in Slovakia will perhaps be surprising. But much more surprising, at least for the atmosphere of 1939, is his courageous stand with regard to the problem which pushed Slovaks and Czechs apart, and with regard to the Slovak language and Slovak national entity.

With the exception of C. A. Macartney (15), Prague governments gained Anglo-Saxon writers, scholars and journalists to their side in presenting the Slovak problem to international public opinion. The differences between Czechs and Slovaks were belittled: the Slovaks were presented as an ungrateful and unruly people, politically parochial and underdeveloped, who were led by a "clerical clique" into an opposition towards a government which was depicted as an example of democracy, progress and tolerance.

Prof. Kirkconnell did not buy this picture of Czechoslovakia and courageously pointed to the facts which were hidden by the clever propaganda of Prague governments. He saw in the correct historical perspective the origin of Czechoslovakia and the inherent differences between the Czechs and Slovaks.

"There were two documents"—wrote Kirkconnell in 1939—"on the strength of which the Slovaks were included

in the new state. The first was a resolution supporting union, drawn up by a private group of 106 men, meeting in the little Slovak town of Turčiansky sv. Martin. The other was the so-called Pittsburgh Declaration, signed by Czech and Slovak immigrants at Pittsburgh, U.S.A., in support of a federal union of the Czechs and Slovaks. In the Slovak provinces, no plebiscite was ever taken; and a Slovak delegation to Paris, seeking to state the other side of the Slovak case, was arrested by the French police, on the instigation of Benesh, and deported. Monsieur Andre Tardieu, in his book **LA PAIX**, explains laconically: "We had to choose between a plebiscite and the creation of Czecho-Slovakia" (16).

Prof. Kirkconnell had a different view from the majority of Anglo-Saxon scholars and writers also with regard to the official Czech theory that Czechs and Slovaks were one ethnic unit and that the Slovak language was merely a dialect of the Czech tongue.

"It cannot be too strongly emphasized"—wrote Kirkconnell in the same book—"that the Slovaks are not Czechs, and that there is no such creature as a "Czechoslovak. While they speak closely related Slavic languages, Slovak is not a mere dialect of Czech. The differences are about as great as those between the similarly related languages, Dutch and German. I have on my shelves Miroslav Kalal's Slovak-Czech dictionary (published 1924), in which there are 35,000 Slovak words that were apparently unintelligible to a Czech and hence required definition. As a matter of fact, many Slovak philologists find the closest relative of their language in the speech of the Slovenes, laying to the southwest of Hungary" (17).

The reason of disagreement between the Czechs and Slovaks were, according to Prof. Kirkconnell, more serious than the Prague government or some scholars in the West were ready to admit in 1939. He boldly pointed out that Slovaks had serious reasons to be dissatisfied.

"When the treaty makers of Paris"—says Kirkconnell—"linked Czechs and Slovaks together in a common state, it was assumed that the arrangement would prove an ideal one; yet a visit to Middle Europe in 1938 found the Slovaks one of the most discontented of the republic's minorities. This is only intelligible if we realize the diverging past

histories of the Czechs and the Slovaks, and the unfulfilled conditions under which the latter entered the Czech-dominated state in 1919" (18).

Looking with scholarly objectivity at the origin and at the 20 years of political existance of Czechoslovakia, Prof. Kirkconnell could not but express different views also on the disintegration of that country and on the creation of the Slovak Republic. He wrote critically on some aspects of the first steps of the Slovak government and on the Slovak constitution, but with full understanding of the reasons which led the Slovak Parliament on March 14, 1939, to declare Slovakia's independence:

"The creation, in March 1939, of a separate Slovak state under German auspices did not come as a surprise to anyone familiar with the feeling existing between the Slovaks and the Czechs, and aware also of the Nazi eagerness to intensify and exploit such a situation for the furtherance of their own programme. A measure of Slovak autonomy had, it is true, been granted by Prague after the Munich settlement, but the ubiquitous presence of an intrenched Czech officialdom in state and school, backed by the Czech army, together with the difficulty of even gradually replacing them with Slovak officials and teachers, made exasperated impatience on the part of the Slovak nationalists inevitable" (19).

Since 1939 Prof. Kirkconnell paid attention to the cultural activities of Canadians of Slovak origin and favorably commented in the University of Toronto Quarterly on two publications: **Eduvít Štúr and His Place in the Slavic World** and **Contemporary tendencies in Slovak Philology** (20), quoting from the latter publication a corroboration of his views on Slovak language. In a personal letter he also congratulated the author of the book **Slovakia — Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe**, considering it as "an imposing scholarly work on the subject."

All this allows us to conclude that Slovakia, Slovak culture and poetry, as well as the Slovak struggle for freedom found in this outstanding Canadian-Slavist a keen observer and stanch defender of historical truth and scholarly objectivity, who did not conform with half-truths even if they were fashionable.

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1. Cf R. A. Kann: **The Multinational Empire**, Rutgers University, 1950; p. 273.
2. Scotus Viator: **Racial Problems in Hungary**, London, 1908, contributions by S. H. Vajanský (Chapter XIX); Dušan Jurkovič: **On Slovak Popular Art** (Chapter XVIII); and **Slovak Popular Melodies** (Chapter XX); pp. 352-392. In Vajanský's contribution we find several good translations of Slovak songs or poetry.
3. Ernest Denis: **Les Slovaques**, Paris, 1917; p. 153-154; also J. M. Kirschbaum, **Misconceptions of American Slavists about Slovak Literature**, in **Slovakia**, Vol. XI, Middletown, Pa., 1961; p. 22-42.
4. The Encyclopedia Canadiana gives on Prof. W. Kirkconnell the following account: Kirkconnell Watson, professor and writer: born May 16, 1895, at Port Hope, Ontario. Educated at the Collegiate Institute, Lindsay; Queen's University (M.A. 1916); the Toronto Conservatory of Music; and Lincoln College, Oxford. Professor of English at Wesley (later United) College, Winnipeg, 1922-30; of Classics 1930-40; head of the English department at MacMaster University 1940-1948; became President of Acadia University 1948. He published nearly 30 works, ranging from learned treatises and poetry to short stories and children's tales. His first book of verse was **The Tide of Life** (1930); **Lyra Sacra** dates from 1939. An important scholarly work **The Celestial Cycle: The Theme of Paradise Lost in World Literature, with Translations of the Major Analogues** appeared in 1952. His versatility manifested itself in an exceptional linguistic ability: he published several collections of verse translated from Icelandia, Polish and Hungarian sources. Collaborated with Seraphim Marion in **The Quebec Tradition** (1946) and with A. S. P. Woodhouse in a survey, **The Humanities in Canada** (1947). Member of many foreign learned societies; elected F.R.S.C. 1936; awarded the Loren Pierce Medal, 1942.
5. **Preface to Canadian Overtones**, Winnipeg, 1935, The Columbia Press, Ltd.; p. 3-4.
6. *Ibidem*—p. 4.
7. *Ibidem*—p. 5.
8. Under the title **European Elegies**, Prof. Kirkconnell has published 100 poems which he translated from 50 languages. In his **Canadian Overtones**, he published translations from the Icelandic, Swedish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Italian and Greek poetry.
9. See Preface
10. On Hviezdoslav, see Scotus Viator, op. cit., p. 370-371; also W. Lednicki (ed.), **Adam Mickiewicz in World Literature**; also this writer's contribution on "Two Slovak translators of Mickiewicz," p. 498-493. His "Bloody Sonets" were translated into English by Jaroslav Vajda; Hviezdoslav, on the other hand, translated Shakespeare's Hamlet and Midsummer Night's Dream into Slovak.

11. European Elegies.
12. Ibidem
13. All three translations were originally published in C. A. Manning, *An Anthology of Czechoslovak Poetry*, New York, Columbia Press, 1929.
14. On S. H. Vajanský role in Slovak literature and national life see Scutus Viator, op. cit., p. 362; L. I. Strakhovsky (ed.), *Handbook of Slavic Studies*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p. 489; and I. J. Kramoris, *Slovakia and Slovak Literature*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XVIII, 1950. S. H. Vajanský was a poet as well as novelist and national leader.  
His chief works are: (a) Poetical: *Tatry a more* (The Tatras and the sea), a collection of poems; *Zpod jarma* (From under the Yoke); *Besedy a výdumy* (Conversation and Mediations); (b) Novels: *Suchá ratolesť* (The Dry Branch), by which is meant the Slovak nobles who had deserted their nationality; *Kotlín*; (c) Stories and Sketches: *Lalia* (The Lily); *Sviatce Tiene* (Glittering Shadows); *Husle* (The Violin); Two Sisters; The Young Minister. German translations have appeared of "Der Kandidat," "Der Nachtwächer," "Das Weib des Holshauers," "Der schwarze Idealist," "Das Heimatslied." May English translations soon follow!—R.W.S.W.
15. Hungary and her Successors, Oxford University Press, 1937 and Problems of the Danube Basin, London, 1942.
16. W. Kirkconnell: Canada, Europe and Hitler, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. 44.
17. Ibidem—p. 43.
18. Ibidem—p. 44.
19. Ibidem—p. 47.
20. University of Toronto Quarterly, July 1961, Letters in Canada, "Publications in Foreign Languages," p. 514; also his comment on "Misconceptions of American Slavists about Slovak Literature," in the same revue, July 1962, p. 582, where Prof. Kirkconnell writes: "Dr. Joseph M. Kirschbaum, of the University of Montreal, has contributed to *Slovakia* (March-June 1961, 22-42) a heavily documented essay on "Misconceptions of American Slavists about Slovak Literature. Whereas Czech propaganda has refused to admit that there was any Slovak literature before 1844. Marxist scholarship, without any Czech inhibitions, has recognized over one hundred Slovak authors in the eighteenth-century 'school' of Anton Bernolák, and there is evidence of a Slovak tradition going all the way back to the Great Moravian Empire in the ninth century. Dr. Imrich Kotvan's *Bibliography of the School of Bernolák* runs to some four hundred pages."

## SLOVAKIA IN FOREIGN LITERATURE

Dr. Štefan Glejdura

The struggle of the Slovaks for freedom and independence is not too well-known in the world at large, not even in the free western world. The true story of Slovakia has been either ignored, or distorted and falsified by its enemies and the misinformed, including the Czechs, who at the same time claim to be our "closest brethren!" Real friends have been few in the past and, for understandable reasons, their efforts to make known the truth about Slovakia and the Slovaks met with little success: T. G. Masaryk and Dr. Edward Beneš, operating with the cliché "truth prevails" with utter disregard for the truth in regard to the Slovaks, had absolute control of the State propaganda apparatus.

Masaryk and Beneš had declared: there is no Slovak nation (an invention of the Magyars!) and the Slovak language is but a dialect of the Czechs.

Most of the Czechs went along with that, because it did not pay to challenge the statements of Masaryk and Beneš. The truth about Slovakia went begging. But just like murder, truth will out. Since 1938—after Beneš capitulated to Hitler at Munich without consulting parliament and had fled to London after resigning the presidency—the world at large is gradually learning the truth about Slovakia and its people, and about the political monstrosity that the Czecho-Slovakia of Masaryk and Beneš actually was.

Today, any one, who deals seriously with the problems of Central Europe, automatically reflects the existence of Slovakia and the Slovak nation as a geographic (1), historical (2), legal (3), political (4), sociological and economical factor (5), even in cases where only a single country of that area is under consideration, as for example, Poland (6).

E. Birke studied the development of French continental politics in the nineteenth century, from the *ancien régime* to 1897. In his studies he deals with the French **Drang nach Osten** at the time when France sought to gain the Slovanic nations as friends and allies against Germany. Though Paris

regarded the Russian Empire as one of its chief enemies at the beginning of the 18th century, at the end of that century—particularly after the Prussian-French war of 1870-71—its policy resulted in a military alliance between Russia and France. The consequences of that alliance are keenly felt by Europe to this day, especially in the central zone which, after the Second World War, was forced to come under the sphere of influence of the Russians, in fact, becoming a colony of the Soviet Union. Today the Soviet-Russian **Drang nach Westen** created the conditions for solid Franco-German friendship within the framework of the economical and political integration of Europe.

Today we are concerned with the forces, which conditioned the policy of power-balance among the great powers in Central Europe, which was threatened on the one hand by Russia (the Polish argument) and, on the other, by Germany (the "Czech argument—please, not Czechoslovak" or even "Czecho-Slovak" argument, because the Slovaks never did and still do not determine policy!).

Political goals, however, have evoked contemporaneously a lively interest of French circles to better understand the nations which were supposed to become a tool of their plans to dominate the continent. French writers devote more attention to the Slovanic nations, drawing in the first place from the works of Šafárik, the Slovak Slavist (7). Surowiecki, the Pole, Kollár and Šafárik, the Slovaks, and Palacký, the Czech, headed the movement for national revival among the western Slovans in the first half of the 19th century. Because a part of their literary efforts were published in German, their concepts easily took hold in the non-Slovanic part of Europe (8). Herder's idealization of the Slovanic spirit evoked a great response in French literature, which in the course of time placed more stress on the political and anti-German tendencies of the Slovanic nations.

This was quite evident in the incident which took place in Paris in the spring of 1848, where the Pešť Choral Society happened to be at the time. Cyprian Robert, a Slovanophile and writer, whom the Magyars erroneously had taken for "a professor of Slovak," invited the members of the group, on March 28, to join the **Société de l'emancipation**.

**tion des nationalités slaves.** Immediately after this incident, the Magyars declared:

"Furious, we tried to make it clear to them (the French) that the Magyar people were no appendage of the Slovak nation and differ from it like fire and water . . . " (9). Of special significance is this work of Birke, but probably even more so are the sources he used to present in the most objective form the development of French continental policy of that epoch, the substance of which weighed in a combination of logical and mutually opposing factors in the struggle for national existence in Central and Eastern Europe.

Professor Wierer actualizes the Central European problem with a study of federalistic conceptions in the Danubian area from 1848 to 1960 in order to point out the causes which led to the dissolution of Central Europe, as well as the forces which could lead to new social and political structures for the general good of all nations concerned. He does not limit himself to drawing proper consequences from the past, but gives attention also to the newest federalistic plans of Central European origin.

In this connection, our feeling is that he could have more thoroughly analyzed the ideological substance especially of those plans which aim to harmonize the demands of the right of self-determination with the inevitability of renouncing certain advantages that emanate from the principle of national and state independence for the benefit of a supranational organization, which would unite the individual states built up on the foundation of right and justice (10).

In the conclusion, the author (Wierer) touches upon the United States, and in the German Federal Republic with the intent to present them as an example of possible application to Central Europe.

The question of nationalism continues to remain alive as a factor of political life. In fact, nationalism can be regarded as the greatest moving force in the emancipational process of the Asiatic and African countries, though its explosiveness, avoked by the emotional side of human nature, is directed by the need of broader unification of nations on a regional, continental, or even a universal basis.

Slovak nationalism never did lend itself to the extrem-

istic tendencies that characterize the nationalism of neighboring nations, because alongside the emotional side it always contained also elements of reason. These were able to hold it within the limits of its own national existential possibilities, the realization of which it conditioned with principles of Christian world-perspective. Such is the nature the federalistic forms of state organization in Switzerland, of the works of Šafárik and Kollár from the beginning of the 19th century (11). A purely defensive phenomenon is never imperialistic. An objective researcher learns that Slovak nationalism was and still is democratic.

“Economy and Society in Southeastern Europe” is a volume on which twenty-one authors collaborated on the study of the economical and social process in the Czech lands, in Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, the countries of the southern Slovans, in Greece, Albania, Turkey and Poland between the two world wars, and especially from 1945 (12). Here we find paragraphs which deal independently with Slovakia or within the framework of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, or even the entire area (13). Of positive value are also works of a historical nature, such as the study of Pan-Slavism.

We find references to Slovakia also in the work of Professor Markert of Tübingen (14). Especially the background of the Polish-Magyar intrigues at the expense of Slovakia in 1938-39 is described impartially, though we regret that even here Slovak independence means no more than “German protectorate” (15).

### The Slovaks in the Past and Present

Varsik deals with Slovak history, and his work (17) could be called a sociology of Slovak history, beginning with the fourth century B.C., that is from the Gauls through the German tribes, the advent of Slovak tribes, the organization and origin of Samo's State, and the Great Moravian Empire, etc.

Garin-Michajlovskij defends Slovak independence (18), correctly concluding that the rise of the Slovak State was not an accident, but a historical inevitability in the development of Europe, resting on the will of the Slovaks expressed in harmony with the natural law. The existence of the

Slovak Republic was legal, he states categorically, and there can be no argument about it.

The publication of V. Krajčovič, director of the Research Institute of the Slovak National Bank, deals with the economical life of the Slovak Republic (1939-1945).

One of the burning questions of Slovak-Magyar relations is undoubtedly the problem of national minorities, a topic that has been heatedly discussed by Slovaks and non-Slovaks alike, including the Magyars (20). After the Treaty of Trianon there were some 600,000 Magyars in Slovakia (according to the census of 1930—571,988 Magyars) and more than 200,000 Slovaks remained in Hungary (Magyarland). With the Vienna Award (April 4, 1939), some 300,000 Slovaks were incorporated into Hungary, so that in 1940 there were about 500,000 Slovaks there (21).

After World War II, the relations of the national minorities underwent a substantial change in both countries. In 1958, the number of the Magyar minority in Slovakia was estimated at 393,390, while in the Czech lands the number was only 16,784; in other words, 10.2 per cent of the population of Slovakia and only 0.2 per cent of the population of the Czech lands, that is, in the entire Czecho-Slovak Republic there were supposed to be 410,174 (3.1 per cent) Magyars (22)—200,000 less than in 1930.

It appears that the nationality policy of Communist regimes in Central Europe is using the new forms of "majorization" which were initiated during Stalin's era. After the brutal expulsion of the Germans and the partial exchange of Slovaks and Magyars, the Prague government, through the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, took new steps to realize "socialistic fraternal aid" for the Magyar minority in Slovakia. The first point of the new program makes the Magyars completely equal in all sectors of State life. The second point aims to sink the roots of the concept of proletarian internationalism and the feeling of "Czecho-Slovak patriotism" among the Magyar working people. To be able to take on all the tasks, according to their ability, the Magyar workers are expected to learn the State language, and so the study of Slovak is to be pushed in all Magyar schools (23).

This means that the Magyar minority in Slovakia is to be Slovakized. After that, or probably contemporane-

ously with this process, they will arrive at the dialectical process of "socialistic togetherness" between Slovak and Czech in the direction of fraternizing the new language with Russian.

Christian life in Slovakia is dealt with in two books of an informational character. The first (24) deals with the Christianization of the Slovaks by Sts. Cyril and Methodius, who later had some influence on the Czechs. The story is presented quite accurately.

The other by Schreiber, a native of Budapest, hardly deserves mention here, because of the many irresponsible and erroneous statements it contains, but then we do want people to know about it (25). The statement that Germany created the Slovak State and made a protectorate of it on March 15, 1939, or that Msgr. Joseph Tiso and the entire Slovak Hierarchy collaborated to the very last day with the Nazis, is a verbal repetition of the malicious propaganda spread by chauvinistic Czechs, including Professor Heidler of Radio Free Europe. Such irresponsible statements may find a response with certain Christian circles with dubious intentions, but in no case with people who are seeking the truth (26).

Furthermore, Schreiber's book harms the interests of the Central-European cause. The more so because in the biographical sketch on the back cover it is reported that Schreiber is one of those French reporters (a native of Budapest!) "who best knows the countries enjoying people's democracy"!

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26. Ibidem, p. 16.

### MEMORANDUM

On October 7, 1963, the Slovak League of America issued the following Memorandum addressed to Secretary of State Dean Rusk:

On July 14, 1963 in Youngstown, O., at the gymnastic meet of the Slovak Catholic Sokol—a member organization of our Slovak League of America, the Attorney General of the United States, the Hon. Robert F. Kennedy, declared as follows, among other things:

"As a representative of the United States government the President has asked me to tell you that the United States will continue to support the just aspirations of all people in the world for independence and liberty—aspirations which the Slovaks share today with many other captive nations."

We hail and welcome this assurance from our President and we request, Mr. Secretary of State, that you graciously recognize the fact that the Slovak League of America represents over 300,000 organized Americans of Slovak extraction and as such deems it its sacred duty to speak before the American Government in behalf of the Slovak nation which now lives under a Communist form of government and is unable to speak out for its rights and self-determination of its freedom and independence.

We would be most pleased if our State Department would—in the spirit and according to the assurance of our Attorney General—show good will at least in the considera-

tion of such a question as the Voice of America broadcast. According to our information, there exists only the so-called "Czechoslovak" division, and the Slovaks have no say-so in it. In the interest of peace between the Slovaks and the Czechs it would be most fitting if our government effected a separation and division of the "Czechoslovak" division and created two: a Slovak division and a Czech division—completely distinct and separate divisions, mutually independent. We would so wish to see American citizens of Slovak extraction in the Slovak division who would regularly and correctly inform the Slovaks behind the Iron Curtain about all happenings in America and among American-Slovaks, and who would correctly interpret the message of President Kennedy as relayed to us by his brother, Robert F. Kennedy, in Youngstown, O., to the effect that even the Slovaks have a right to their independence and their own sovereign state.

The movement for an independent Slovakia is very strong at this time in Europe as well as here in America. Just in the past few months—as may be verified by our Ambassador in Prague, a strong wave of resistance swept across Slovakia against the Czech Stalinists who for years were represented in Bratislava by their own man, Karel Bacilek, the secretary general of the Communist party. Slovak Communists with strong nationalistic inclinations forced the Prague government to recall Bacilek, and another Stalinist, Premier Viliam Široký.

In addition, they forced the posthumous rehabilitation of the former secretary of foreign affairs, Vlado Clementis, a Slovak, whom the Stalinists have executed. Along with Clementis, other nationally inclined Communists in Slovakia, who had been jailed during the era of the Czech Stalinists, were pardoned, namely: Dr. Gustav Husak and Ladislav Novomesky. Membership in the Communist party was restored to both and their voice is now being heard more and more in Slovakia. Husak was removed some 10 years ago because immediately after the Second World War he clamored for an independent Soviet Slovak Republic and took a stand against the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

According to information we have, the situation in Slovakia during the last four months is very similar and

almost as explosive as was the situation in Hungary in 1956, which led to the well-known revolt against the Soviets. The Slovaks, of course, have no assurance from the outside world that they would be provided help if they revolted against the Prague and Moscow governments. Without such assurance any attempted revolt must prove foolhardy.

The recent retreat of Moscow in Prague, while only in the Communist ranks thus far, is apparent in Slovakia. The nationalists are acquiring a voice and it appears that there is no force that can stop them.

Naturally, we in no way support and will not support any Communist movement. But it is apparent and clear to us that Slovak patriotism in the political aspects has deep roots in the anti-Communist movement in Slovakia as well as in the ranks of the Slovak Communists themselves.

For that reason we are stronger and stronger in our conviction that it is our moral duty to come to the defense of the sovereign rights of the Slovak nation from which we have descended and to ask for that much recognition in a practical political sense as was expressed and interpreted to us by the brother of our President, John F. Kennedy.

We respectfully submit this to you, Mr. Secretary of State, with the hope that our present administration will do all in its power to assure the Slovaks in America and in Europe that they do not stand alone in this fight for the independence of Slovakia.

As always, we should like to assure you that the Slovak League of America was and remains an organization loyal to the United States of America and that the welfare of our American country and the liberty of its citizens and their equality before the law are still our primary concern.

Sincerely yours,

**Dr. Peter P. Hletko, President,  
Slovak League of America**

**Dr. Joseph Pauco, Secretary**

Members of the Executive Committee:

**Philip A. Hrobak  
John A. Sabol  
Joseph G. Prusa**

## ADDRESS OF HONORABLE MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

**United States Representative 20th Ohio District, Delivered at 25th Anniversary of Slovak Independence, Sts. Cyril and Methodius Auditorium, Alameda Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio — Sunday, March 15, 1964**

It is most fitting that the observance of this 25th Anniversary of Slovak National Independence should be held in this Auditorium dedicated to the Brother Saints, Cyril and Methodius.

For the Brother Saints Cyril and Methodius are indelibly linked with eleven centuries of Slovak culture and history.

They were invited by Rastislav, who then rules Slovakia. To bring the civilizing message of Christianity to the Slovak people.

That was in the year 863 and so effective was their work that history records them as the Apostles of the Slavs.

Slovakia has stood fast by her Christian faith from the days of Cyril and Methodius to the present. That faith has carried her over epics of great suffering and has preserved the culture of her people in the face of foreign occupation and rule. The strength of that faith is matched only by the sturdiness and resolve of her people.

**No Nation in history has fought harder or longer for freedom and National Independence than Slovakia.** No people have paid a greater price for their allegiance to liberty and human dignity than paid by the Slovak people. And no nation or people are more firmly committed to the principles of freedom today. To understand the aspirations of the Slovak people and their plight as a nation today we need but look back upon events of the century in which we live.

When this century opened Slovakia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire — but a very restive part. Their struggle for autonomy and self-rule over the previous century prepared them well for the political struggle during and following World War I. It was no accident of history that the Austro Hungarian, Russian, German and Ottoman Empires fell in the wake of that war.

For it was the yearnings and struggles for national independence by nations long subjugated which toppled those empires. In preparing the people of Slovakia for their political independence the name of Msgr. Andrew Hlinka looms large. A great patriotic leader. He took the initiative to form the Slovak peoples party as a united and democratic voice of his people. That party adopted the guiding principles of the great encyclicals on the social order as their guideposts for the formation of a new social order in central Europe.

Meanwhile there were discussions among Czechs and Slovaks in the United States concerning the formation of a common federation following the war. One historic meeting took place in Cleveland in 1915. At that meeting the Slovak League of America made clear its intention to support a Czecho Slovak federal state, providing Slovakia would be an equal member with Czechia and would retain complete autonomy in all legislative, executive, judiciary, cultural and national matters. Matters of common concern such as defense and foreign affairs were to be handled by a common parliament, that agreement together with the Pittsburgh Pact led to the establishment of a provisional government at Paris with Thomas Masaryk as President. That provisional government was ratified by a Czechoslovak National

Assembly on November 14, 1918 and elected Thomas Masaryk as President of the Republic.

It was not long before serious disagreements between the Czechs and Slovaks developed over the issue of a strongly centralist state and the concept of a federation of co-equal states. In the opinion of the Slovak leaders the Czecho-Slovak Republic was rapidly becoming a Czech state and the identity as well as the independence of Slovakia was thereby threatened. This trend was contrary to all agreements entered into before the formation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

Under these circumstances Msgr. Hlinka went to Paris in September of 1919 to plead the cause of Slovak independence before the Peace Conference of the victorious Western Powers. There he was falsely denounced to the French authorities by the Czechoslovak delegation as a Hapsburg spy and was forced to depart the country. Returning to his homeland he was immediately imprisoned by order of the Prague central government and his release was won by the Slovak people who elected him a deputy.

In the years between the wars the Slovaks people fared poorly under the centralized regime in Prague. Their hopes for self-government were denied by a system they had opposed and rejected and which laid upon them laws and demands to which they had not given their free consent. Slovaks were the victims of harsh discriminations in all phases of government, education and public life. Their ancient culture was put under a barrage of controls and regulations which had no other purpose but to suffocate their national heritage and yearnings. Practically all the district and county public offices in Slovakia were directed and run by Czechs assigned by Prague. They, along with the police establishment, were directly responsible to Prague and none of these arms of a central government were responsive to the will of the Slovak people. For example, in 1938, there were 120,926 Czech public officials quartered in Slovakia.

The Slovak people made numerous attempts to win their just national rights from the central government in Prague. But these attempts were rebuffed and rejected by a series of delaying tactics, unfulfilled promises and outright deceit.

Since an alleged parliamentary form of government was established in Prague, the Slovak leaders took their series of complaints to that central body for redress. But there they were faced with impossible odds for the parliament was loaded with 233 Czech deputies against 58 deputies from Slovakia and 9 deputies from Ruthenia.

Hence, the Slovak grievances fell upon unreceptive and unyielding ears. Then the Slovaks leaders took their grievances to President Edward Benes, who had succeeded to that post after the death of Thomas Masaryk. There they met the same treatment of delay, rejection and rebuff.

When Hitler came to power in Germany and began to manipulate the smaller and weaker nations of Europe, the Slovak people did not seize upon this situation to attain their long neglected grievances against the government of Prague. Contrarywise, all the legitimate political parties of Slovakia moved into a state of cohesive unity. Moreover, they eased their complaints against Prague, conscious of the coming storm over all of Europe.

The Munich conference of September 22, 1938, which was alleged to be a peace conference, unleashed new forces of division and discord throughout all of central Europe. When the Sudetenland was

ceded to Germany as the price of peace, the centralist government of Prague was doomed.

Czecho-Slovakia was forced by the circumstances of political reality to become a federation of Bohemia-Moravia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia.

Slovakia, at long last, was to become master of its destiny as well as self-governing. But the removal of 9,000 Czech officials in Slovakia to make room for officials chosen by the Slovak people caused additional strains on relations with Prague, although Edward Benes had fled into exile, the centralist vent of Prague remained, and this despite the lesson of Munich.

On March 10, 1939, the Prague government, annoyed at the serious manner in which the Slovaks were taking their responsibilities for self-government, dismissed the autonomous Slovak government headed by Dr. Joseph Tiso and declared martial law over all of Slovakia. Public demonstrations against the Prague government spread throughout Slovakia and threatened a blood bath revolution.

Under these circumstances, Hitler invited Dr. Tiso to a conference in Berlin where he showed him a telegram from Von Ribbentrop, then foreign minister of the Reich, in which the threat of foreign occupation of Slovakia was made. Hitler then suggested this threat might be avoided if Slovakia declared its national independence. While Hitler was a mad fool, he was by no means ignorant about the aspirations of the Slovak people for national independence.

Dr. Tiso returned to Bratislava where he reported fully to the Slovak diet on his conference with Hitler in Berlin. The Slovak diet then proclaimed the national independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939. That, in quick summary, is the history of the 25th Anniversary of Slovak National Independence we observe here today.

All that I have said, and more, can be found in an official report of the United States Congress, rendered by the select Committee to Investigate Communist aggression 83rd Congress. I was a member of that committee and I can tell you its members had no fear of the truth as we sought the facts on this vital issue.

That report also tells the story of Slovakia's loss of national independence following World War II and the manner in which the unprincipled political rogues who made up the centralist government of Prague sold out their own people as well as the Slovak nation to Imperial Russia.

It is fitting at this moment that we offer up a prayer for the soul of Dr. Joseph Tiso, who made the supreme Sacrifice for the Political ideals of a free and independent Slovakia. Dr. Tiso was tried in a Mock trial, sentenced and hanged by the Communist quislings who eventually sold out their own country to the Russian Communists. But history will treat Dr. Tiso kindly because the passage of time has brought forth and will continue to bring forth the truth about his desperate efforts to save his native land.

Slovakia today suffers under the harsh heel of Russian Communist occupation. That occupation has sought to rob the Slovak people of their ancient traditions, their religious, and their heritage as well as their political liberties. But the Slovak people are steeled in the tactics which must be employed against a foreign occupier. Time and the experience of centuries has prepared them well for the tests they now endure. It is little wonder that the spirit of resistance to tyranny runs so strong in Slovakia today. The Russians as well as their Czech

quislings in Prague, know the power of Slovak national aspirations.

History is repeating itself today as the people of Slovakia are bringing pressures upon the die-hard Russian stalinist regime entrenched at Prague. Those pressures are against the twin chauvinisms which seek to erase the distinct national character of the Slovak people. Genuine dissent against the Prague regime comes only from Slovakia while Bohemia and Moravia remain strangely silent even on the old hat Russian trick of de-stalinization.

All of us remember that on the occasion of the Hungarian **freedom revolution in 1956** the people of Slovakia alone among all the people of a Russian restored centralist Czechoslovakia demonstrated sympathy for the aims of that freedom revolution. The danger of that demonstrated sympathy was quickly recognized by Moscow. As a result three Czech divisions were moved to the common border between Slovakia and Hungary, to seal off any prospect of assistance to and collaboration with the Hungarian freedom fighters

That is a lesson of history which must never be forgotten by those who love freedom and fight against tyranny in any form

**There is another lesson to be gained from the era of the Hungarian freedom revolution** which needs telling, but which up to this moment, has remained buried in the archives of truth.

**That lesson occurred several weeks before the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution.** The scene was Poland, long under occupation by the oppressive Russian Communists. The Poznan revolt in the spring of 1956 was an important event in history, but it failed to expose to the free world the full story of the human pressures which had built up among the people of Poland. That revolt served as a short fused safety valve for the pent up feelings of the Polish people. But **by September and early October of 1956** the oppressed people of Poland had reached a breaking point.

They were willing to risk all in a heroic effort to break the chains of Russian slavery which had been fixed to their national life and ancient heritage. The Russian quislings in control of Poland became alarmed by these developments and sent urgent warnings to Moscow. Khrushchev knew the full meaning of these warnings and flew to Warsaw to avert disaster for the Russian Empire

But the Poles were ready for him. They had managed to gain anti-communist discipline and control over 40 divisions of Poles and East Germans **When Khrushchev's plane arrived over Warsaw airport it was not allowed to land.** The Russians then surrounded Warsaw airport with a Russian armored division. But the Poles countered this move by surrounding the Russian division with several loyal divisions of their own.

The Polish leaders of revolt sought time to negotiate with the American Ambassador in Warsaw. What they sought in these negotiations was assurance of United States moral support if they attacked the Russians and drove them from Polish soil.

In these negotiations the Poles were discouraged in their efforts and reminded that their ambitions would likely unleash a nuclear war. The Polish negotiators left the United States Embassy discouraged and disillusioned and returned to the Warsaw airport

There they agreed upon a plan to force as many concessions out of Khrushchev as they could. They agreed to demand the release of Cardinal Wyszyński from house arrest, the release of Gomulka from prison and a general relaxation of oppression which had been laid

upon the Polish people. This brave action on the part of the enslaved Polish people held Khrushchev in the air **over Warsaw for four to five hours.**

When his plane was allowed to land, there was no pounding of a Russian shoe on a desk and there were no insults poured upon the negotiators because the Poles stood firm in their promise of unrestricted bloodshed unless their demands were met, Khrushchev understands that kind of negotiation. He met the demands of the Polish negotiators who negotiated upon nothing more than their confidence in the Polish people to stand up in support of their ideals and aspirations.

These facts were not known to the people of Hungary. All they knew was that the people of Poland were standing up to the Russians. In support of that stand they began peaceful demonstrations in Budapest. It was no accident that these peaceful demonstrations moved toward the historic statue of General Bem. A Polish hero who went to the rescue of Hungary a century before when the people of Hungary fought for their national independence, nor was it an accident when the Russian secret police machine gunned the peaceful Hungarian demonstrators. Moscow remembered the events in Warsaw a few weeks prior and knew only too well their meaning, a show of brute strength, the traditional source of Russian power, was ordered.

That brutal action triggered off the Hungarian freedom revolution which could have brought the Russian Empire down in shambles if the United States had demonstrated the moral and political courage which has brought us to a position of leadership in the free world.

Looking back on that heroic chapter in history, in light of these facts which I have exposed, I must conclude that one of the greatest **opportunities in history was bungled in Warsaw in the early days of October 1956.** The Poles and East Germans would have been joined by Slovakia, Hungary, Ukraine, Lithuania, Rumania, Byelorussia and all the rest of the peoples in the captive nations. A popular revolution of that dimension, reaching from the Baltic sea to the Caspian sea, would have brought about the total **disintegration of the Russian Empire.** The Russians would have been powerless in the face of such a popular movement for freedom. The Red Army would have fallen into total collapse, as its occupation elements did during the Hungarian revolution, and Moscow would have been rendered powerless.

These conclusions are irescapable and they will become more apparent with the passage of time. Truth will not be buried because truth endures time, mortal men and the Imperial Russians.

For these reasons I am honored by the opportunity which you have given me to participate with you in this observance of the 25th Anniversary of Slovak National Independence. This is the Silver Anniversary of an important event in the annals of freedom's cause. It serves well to provide a bright lining, a silver lining, to the dark clouds of war which stretch over much of the civilized world.

That silver lining raises our hopes for peace with justice and freedom. It reminds us that the power of human aspirations dwarfs the power and threat of all the nuclear weapons stockpiled throughout the world.

God bless the Slovak people and hasten the day when their hard journey toward freedom and national independence shall end in a glorious triumph.

## PROCLAMATION

**of 39th Congress — Slovak League of America — Philadelphia, Pa.,  
May 5, 1964 — Greetings!**

On the occasion of the 39th Congress of the Slovak League of America convened in Philadelphia, the cradle of American liberty, the home of the Liberty Bell and the birthplace of the American flag, the officers and delegates of the Slovak League of America declare that:

1. We rededicate ourselves and our membership to the preservation of the basic moral principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights of the United States of America.
2. We condemn all forms of tyranny and totalitarian political systems, especially repudiating the atheistic philosophy of materialistic Communism as the most ruthless conspiracy against free humanity.
3. We respectfully request that appropriate action be taken by our own government as well as the United Nations organization in accordance with the views so well expressed by our late lamented President, John F. Kennedy, in his renowned Yale University address, namely, that we must distinguish between the myths of the past and the realities of the present. This especially as it pertains to the myth of a so-called Czechoslovak tongue and a Czechoslovak people and the reality of tormented and freedom-seeking Slovaks in Slovakia.
4. As we mark the completion of eleven centuries since the Christianization of Slovakia in 863 A.D. by the great Slav Apostles, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, we ask the entire world to give an attentive ear to the pleas and cries of the Slovak nation with its ancient and continuous Christian culture, especially now when younger, smaller and less mature ethnic groups are being given national, cultural, diplomatic and international recognition by the leading powers of the world and by the United Nations.
5. As stated on many previous historic and memorable occasions, we, individually and as representatives of more

than 250,000 organized Americans of Slovak birth or descent, submit that in justice and equity, the nation of our forbears should likewise enjoy the blessings of freedom and independence. In this regard, we call attention, by way of example, to the following salient and revelant facts:

- (a) In 1962 alone, four new states were admitted to the family of the United Nations—Sierra Leone, Outer Mongolia, Mauritania and Tanganyika;
- (b) None of these states has the 1100-year old Christian heritage of Slovakia;
- (c) None of these states has the high population to area ratio as does Slovakia; and
- (d) None of these states has had the self-governing experience of Slovakia.

In support of the above, all in keeping with the basic fundamental truths of our American way of life, we have prepared and will make available the research and historic proof which will substantiate and justify our legitimate claims and aspirations.

THEREFORE, on the solemn occasion of this, our 39th Congress as representatives of the vast majority of the Slovak ethnic group of Americans, we deem it our moral duty to move for, seek and, as dutiful citizens, rightfully demand, that our duly elected officials—national, state and municipal—give a sympathetic ear to our pleas and that they take all legitimate avenues of action to bring about their fruition.

Soberly mindful of the soul searching efforts of the Constitutional Fathers, here in this City of Brotherly Love, and in a humble effort to make comparable worthy contributions towards the liberation of our brethren and kinfolk from the tyranny and yolk of atheistic Soviet Communism in our ancestral land of Slovakia, we unanimously adopt this form of proclamation to put in operation our highly principled aims.

We, accordingly, request our member organizations and their memberships to solicit their local, state and federal

officials for the assistance needed to reestablish, in God's good time, Slovakia as a free state in central Europe, an independent Slovakia, firmly dedicated to the moral principles upon which our own United States of America and all Western civilization stand and must stand or be doomed to the extinction that befell the Roman civilization and its predecessors.

Finally, we take this means to convey to President Lyndon B. Johnson, our warmest wishes for continued good health and success in his arduous task as our Chief executive, and to assure him of our continued prayers that God's choicest blessings may come to him and his family, personal and official, as he seeks to bring about God's greater honor and glory in a Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God.

In Witness Whereof, we have caused these sentiments to be published on this 5th day of May, 1964 at historic Philadelphia.

THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA

(Signatures)

**Dr. Peter P. Hletko**, President

**Dr. Joseph Pauco**, Executive Secretary

**Edward J. Behuncik**, Chairman, Resolutions Committee

**V. J. Tylka**, Member, Resolutions Committee

**Ed. Kovac**, Member, Resolutions Committee.

## "SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE"

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## OUR PLEA FOR SLOVAKIA

**TEXT OF ADDRESS BY STEPHEN B. ROMAN, K.C.S.G.**  
**Presented in Cleveland, Ohio, at the 25th Anniversary**  
**of Slovak Independence**

The problems that confronts the world today brings into sharp focus the history of all civilized nations in their struggle for self-preservation; self-determination and self-government. The fast evolving world that we are living in, makes us, at times, forget the historical circumstances that are always so necessary to judge, from a proper perspective, ambition vs. rights. I mention Ambition vs. Rights because ambition looms through history, in the affairs of nations that are large and strong; on most instances, conquering nations interfering with the rights of peaceful and smaller nations.

That is the story of the Slovak nation since the destruction of the Great Moravian empire. Since Bratislava, we have suffered; we have struggled; we have worked; we have hoped for the day when our nation can be free.

The right of Slovakia to independence was cherished however by many generations who, in one form or another, fought and sacrificed for the day when Slovakia would become free of foreign rule and enjoy equality of rights among civilized peoples. The realization of this struggle dawned on us 25 years ago when, from the chaos that shook Europe, the Slovak nation, on March 14th, 1939 by unanimous vote of its parliament declared Slovakia's independence.

We gather here, today, to commemorate with all the Slovaks in the free world, this 25th Anniversary of Slovakia's declaration of independence. We, American and Canadian, Slovaks were not in Slovakia when on March 14th, 1939, the Slovak Parliament proclaimed Slovakia's independence, and the country of our fathers and forefathers regained, after many centuries of foreign domination, the status of an independent nation. For many of us were watching from a distance, realization of our peoples dream.

For this, as well as for other reasons, it does not become to us to pass judgment on the circumstances which allowed the Slovaks to exercise their right to self-determination, or on the policy of the Slovak government, which could not escape the pressures of the neighboring powers and the consequences of the geography and geopolitics. As I have mentioned, the Slovaks manifested, through long centuries, their desire to be free and to develop according to their old Christian and ethnic traditions. Geography and stronger neighbors prevented, however, the Slovaks from achieving this goal. It was only in the spring of 1939 that the international situation allowed the Slovak people to apply their right of self-determination and to renew their Statehood which they had lost in the 10th Century.

Should we not remember the day when our nation, one of the oldest of the Slavic nations, regained its independence, just because it happened in specific international circumstances that were beyond the control of a four million nation? Or should we not remember it just because those that dominate Slovakia today are against such commemorations? No Ladies and Gentlemen, we must in a

positive, constructive and vigorous way show the world that we are not against anybody else's rights; that we are not asking for anything that does not belong to us. We are, however, pursuing the hopes of any self-respecting nation that wants to be the master of its own destiny.

Today, under foreign domination, Slovaks are not asking for anything more than this application of self-determination and self-government.

For the past 150 years, under the impact of the French and American revolutions, Europe and other countries have fundamentally been transformed in the name of political philosophy which recognized for every people the inherent right to form national state of its own, to be politically independent, and to shape its life and institutions in accordance with its own national purpose.

All free European nations and over 45 former colonies created their own states on the basis of this political doctrine, which President Wilson called self-determination. It appears that Slovakia has not only older civilization but has also larger territory than some 15 of those nations and a larger population than some 45 of them. Should the same right not also apply to the Slovak people? In my humble opinion, any historian that can learn from the past advocate the right to self-determination. Self-determination for every people regardless of its territory; regardless of its population, because God gave equal rights to freedom, and happiness to every individual and to all peoples.

As we all know the human spirit revolts against discrimination. This country, today is the champion for the cause of freedom. It is championing the cause against discrimination and, as such, I am sure, although at times it appears to condone the present state of affairs in the world — is basically for freedom — for justice — and self-government of all the nations.

The world was plunged into difficulties, resulting in the cold war, because of the confused state of affairs in which some nations remained free, and the others, against their will and the violation of their God-given rights, are denied self-determination and self-government. On one hand we are today proclaiming the freedom and, on the other, condoning the tyranny and injustice.

The fact that the Slovak Republic was incorporated into Czechoslovakia in 1945, without regard for the will of the people and, in violation of basic human principles, would indicate only today — that the right of the individual, the sacred right of a nation to determine its own course, to create its own destiny, is still over-ridden by the selfish motivations of the stronger and more ambitious nations. After World War II the Western Allies, in all good faith to create a better world, were taken in by the diabolical schemes of Communist imperialists. As we look back to the years 1944 and 1945 and ask ourselves what way the world would have progressed had we, instead of vehemently pursuing the decision of unconditional surrender, applied the basic Christian virtues of Love and Charity.

Today, of course, there is only one definite and sure way from the intolerable situation, and that is to apply the principles of self-determination to all people who are capable to govern themselves. We must, as free people, proclaim that right to self-determina-

tion and self-government, as a basic principle that we stand for; that we fight for; and that we, in necessity, must die for.

Self-governing people, in my humble opinion, in today's world must have their own way to create their regional spheres among free peoples — free nations — in order to safeguard their security and their economic prosperity. The liberation of those nations that suffer under the colonial rule of the Soviet imperialists, and the assurance and help from our side to the people that are threatened by Communist expansion in other parts of the world, is the only safe road towards the termination of the cold war, and also the sure way and the only way to prevent apocalyptic extinction which would result from the atomic warfare.

As for Slovakia, we believe that the Slovak nation, which under the protection of Almighty God, survived many centuries on the territory destined for its national development should not have been robbed of its independent status and should not be prevented from exercising its right to self-determination.

We commemorate, therefore, March 14th, 1939, as a historic date. The date that made the rest of the world realize that over four million Slovaks have an inherent right to be free and independent. I for one, would not argue with anybody about Slovakia's war policy, but rather than believe the adversaries of Slovakia's independence, I trust the Slovak patriots, who sacrificed their lives for the people and we accept the opinion of the Special Committee of the American Congress which, in 1958, said:

"Even though the Slovak state was largely the result of a tense international situation, it nevertheless corresponded to the aspirations of the Slovak people for freedom and the principle of self-determination and self-government.

"It reflected a compromise between the past and the present, between an old tradition and a temporarily determined political dynamism of the self-preservation instinct of the Slovak nation."

Slovakia, one of many nations, is dominated by ruthless Communists imperialists. We are hoping that the free world will not neglect the nations behind the Iron Curtain, and will not let Communist oppressors destroy the Christian quality that Slovakia and the other nations hold dearly as their tradition. Slovakia's consciousness of the evolving and political interdependence of the European peoples are not catering to narrow nationalism or resentments, but with other vigorous peoples of Europe are trying to forget the past, and build the future for a better, stronger, more just Europe — and the world.

American and Canadian Slovaks hopes of freedom for the country of our origin are, however, not based on any form of government or ideology, past or present, in Slovakia. We appeal to the Free World for justice and independence for Slovakia because we believe in the eternal validity of the famous words of the American Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights, that among these are — life — liberty — and the pursuit of happiness."

This, ladies and gentlemen, is all we are asking for — for Slovakia.

### AN INCREDIBLE CONSPIRACY

In the last days of August 1944, Slovakia, a peaceful island in war-ravaged Europe, suddenly became a theatre of war. There occurred an armed rebellion against the Slovak Republic sponsored by Czech-leaning politicians, ambitious army officers and communists. On the pages of the world press the incident passed almost unnoticed; if it appeared it was completely lost alongside such events as the gallant stand of the Poles in the Warsaw rising (Aug.-Sept.), the Allied landing on the south coast of France (Aug. 15), the fall of Paris (Aug. 23), the capitulation of Rumania (Aug. 23), the Finnish withdrawal from the war (Sept. 2), the Soviet declaration of war on Bulgaria (Sept. 5), etc. while on a world scale the Slovak uprising was an insignificant development (e. g. there is no reference to it in the 'Chronology of the Second World War' published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs), on the Slovak scale it was an undertaking of vast dimensions. It started spectacularly; in the first days it spread over more than a half of Slovak territory and by the time it was liquidated with the help of the German troops at the end of October 1944 it had cost Slovakia some 40,000 dead, immense material losses and irreparable losses in terms of human suffering. It failed largely because of its untimely start, confused leadership and lack of popular appeal.

There are many puzzling features concerning this affair which to an outside observer must be without parallel in history: Here is a nation which takes up arms to fight against its own state, to sink its political individuality into a synthetic agglomerate state, to renounce its national birth-right for a second-rate citizenship. However, beyond these absurd appearances lie more fundamental reasons which, if not more logical, are at least more plausible.

The emergence of independent Slovakia in March 1939 was an epoch-making event in the life of the Slovak nation. It was enthusiastically created by Slovaks of all political shades and there was definitely no active opposition either by the Communists or the pro-Czech elements. Unfortunately, but inevitably, the state was born with German assistance, it asked for and was promptly granted German pro-

tection and was only six months old when World War II broke out. Yet in this short space of time (March-Sept. 1939) it secured recognition not only from its neighbours (Germany, Poland, Hungary) but also from the neutrals (Switzerland, Sweden, the Vatican) from and England, Italy and the Soviet Union.

The war and Slovakia's inescapable geography put the state into the Axis camp. With the approaching defeat of Germany its existence was placed in jeopardy. Dr. Beneš, the self-exiled president of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia, had no difficulty in convincing the western Allies and the Soviet Union that the Slovak problem was an internal problem of post-war Czechoslovakia which would be best solved by the restoration of the *status quo ante* 1938.

This development led to a profound soul-searching among those politicians of pro-Czech orientation who in 1939 — expecting that the new state would outlast at least their life span — renounced and denounced their previous centralist past. When in 1943 they belatedly discovered that their appraisal of the situation was wrong, they cast their remorseful eyes towards Beneš. But they were somehow afraid to approach him empty-handed and decided to undo their former betrayal of pro-Czech sentiment by a new treason towards their own state. Dr. Beneš then conceived the idea of a Slovak uprising in his name and for the restoration of the British advice — signed with the Soviet Union a state treaty of mutual assistance and post-war cooperation. Within a fortnight the Slovak liberal-agrarian politicians concluded an agreement with the Slovak Communist underground. In this fateful alliance — called the Christmas Agreement — they vowed to take over the political, legislative, military and administrative power in Slovakia "at the first suitable opportunity" and to restore Czechoslovakia as a common state of the Slovaks and Czechs.

For the Communists this step was a radical departure from their earlier political program. When in the spring of 1939 the Komintern approved an independent Communist Party of Slovakia, the party vehemently and persistently advocated a free and independent Soviet Slovakia. In a similar vein the Czech Communist leadership in Moscow in March 1940 informed the Czech Communist underground: "We are

fighting for complete sovereignty of the present Slovak state . . . The old conceptions concerning Slovakia are being abandoned. The Slovak state is a given basis in the struggle for the full freedom of the Slovaks." This attitude was changed in the summer of 1941. Then the Soviet Union recognized Beneš as the president of Czechoslovakia and the Slovak Communists were ordered to twist their political line accordingly. With some reluctance they obeyed, since "theirs was not to reason why . . ."

The Communist and liberal-agrarian conspirators found helpful allies among the army generals and officers, some of whom were of Czech origin and most of whom were trained in the old Czech schools and in the robust czechoslovakism. It must also be said that the war against Russia was unpopular even while the Germans were winning. After the Stalingrad debacle its unpopularity among the people and soldiers only increased.

In April 1944 Dr. Beneš sent to Slovakia his special emissary Mjr. J. Krátký. The plans of the military uprising soon took a concrete form. It was decided to open the Carpathian passes to the advancing Red army. The key role in this operation was assigned to two Slovak divisions (about 25,000 men) in Eastern Slovakia under Gen. A. Malár. Other military personalities involved in the preparation of this plan were: the Minister of National Defense Gen. F. Čatloš, the Chief of the General Staff Col. J. Golián, Col. Talský and a host of colonels, majors, captains, etc. It was said about them that "they were opposed by the burden of their iron Crosses, Knight Crosses and other German medals, impressed by the performance of the Allied and Red armies and depressed by the grim outlook concerning their future employment."

The plan was well designed but it took too much for granted. The Russians to whom the plan was submitted by two special envoys early in August did not like the idea of an uprising which was bourgeois-conceived and sponsored and refused to commit themselves to any coordinated action. Instead, in July and August they dropped over Central Slovakia several groups of trained partisans. These found Slovakia a fertile soil for subversive activity. The Slovak government was afraid to publicize their presence by a bold, energetic and large scale action. The small army units and police patrols

— geared by their officers for a general uprising — when sent to fight the partisans were ineffective and in many cases even joined them. Late in August there were some 3,000 partisans (according to the Communist count 8,000) roaming the mountainous terrain of Central Slovakia. Their terror was aimed primarily against the Germans. But since there were no German troops in Slovakia, they looted and terrorized the indigenous German population (Volksdeutsche). On Aug. 28 the partisans and the soldiers of the Turčiansky Svatý Martin garrison stopped the international express and massacred the German military mission on its way from Budapest to Cracow. On Aug. 29 Gen. Čatloš announced over the radio that the Slovak Government had called the German army to restore law and order.

This call on German military assistance, triggered off by the provocations of the Soviet partisans, was later declared to be the beginning of "the glorious Slovak national uprising". On Aug. 30 Col. J. Golián indeed issued an order for a general rising, but it was obvious that the day was neither of his choosing nor to his liking. The untimely start caught the military leaders off-guard. One of them, Gen. Malár, spoke over the Slovak radio and denounced the action as suicidal and premature. As a result the two well-equipped divisions in the East did not join the uprising and were disarmed by the Germans early in September. Likewise the military garrisons in West Slovakia were willing to listen to Čatloš or Malár but not to Golián and thus in this crucial moment they did not join in. (The following West Slovak garrisons refused to join in : Nitra, Bratislava, Sered', Trenčín, Hlohovec, Nové Mesto n/V. The men of the Trnava garrison and some of those of Piešťany obeyed Golián's call, but they did not fight as expected of them. Instead they rapidly retreated towards the centre of the uprising.

The uprising spread only over those districts of Central Slovakia which were infested by the partisan infiltration. In the beginning the military leadership had at its disposal some 10,000 men under arms (16 battalions and 10 companies of infantry, 13 batteries of artillery) whose number was increased by military conscription to 60,000. (The number of partisans increased in the same time from 4,500 to 13,000) There was no lack of light arms and ammunition, but heavy

weapons and aircraft were in short supply. (Altogether 26 aircraft and 12 tanks. On Aug. 13, 38 aircraft flew from East Slovakia to the Russians and these were never returned.)

But what the uprising lacked most was an able and united leadership. It was directed from at least three centers: London, Moscow and Banská Bystrica. In addition the soldiers did not see eye to eye with the partisans, who formed an army of their own. The partisans had their own Soviet commanders, received their orders and directives from Kiev and refused to coordinate their actions with those of the army unless it suited their own interest. They saw in the army a tool of the bourgeoisie and thus a class enemy — only a degree better than the political enemy, the Fascists. The partisans claimed for themselves all the equipment flown in or dropped over Slovakia by the Russians.

Originally the Communists shared the political power with the Democrats (the liberal-agrarian group) on a fifty-fifty basis. But by clever manipulation and aggressive action on their part and inexperience on the part of their partners they soon made themselves the dominating factor in the whole venture. With this development Moscow ceased to look at the Slovak revolt as it did at the Warsaw rising and started to provide some help. In military terms it was only a token help, often misplaced and ineffective (they sent some 150 bazookas which were of no use against the German medium and heavy tanks; the Czechoslovak fighter regiment of 21 planes after its arrival from the Soviet union was mostly grounded for the lack of fuel, spares and ammunition which the Soviets failed to provide), but on the political side they flew in the top Czech Communists operators (Slánský and Šverma) who were to help their Slovak comrades to get rid of the liberal-agrarian Kerenskys. After the Red army failed to force its way into Slovakia through the Dukla pass the Soviets allowed the transfer of the decimated 2nd Czechoslovak paratroop brigade (2,000 men) from the Carpathian battlefield into Central Slovakia. But it was too little, too late and was to no avail. The uprising was liquidated in less than two months, on Oct. 27, with the Russian front 140 miles and 150 days away from Banská Bystrica.

The German troops, invited to restore law and order, set about liquidating the rebellion in their efficient, methodi-

cal and ruthless manner. The Reichsführer-SS, H. Himmler, entrusted SS-Obergruppenführer G. Berger with the task. Berger started the operation with 2,800 men, 9 light field guns and with an arrogant optimism ("Ich hoffe, dass in 4 Tagen die Anglegenheit beendet ist" — he wrote to his chief). The insurgents put up some tough resistance, especially the French partisans at Strečno (Sept. 28-4) and the Slovak army units at Telgárt (Sept. 5-7). The Germans were forced to involve more and more troops. At the end of September SS-Obergruppenführer H. Höfle (who replaced Berger) was in command of some 18,000 troops. Towards the end of October this number was finally increased to 32,000.

In the pacification of Central Slovakia the following German army and SS units participated: Tatra Panzerdivision (178th), 14th SS-division ("Galizien"), 18th SS-division ("Horst Wessel"), 20th SS-division (regiment "Schill"), parts of the 19th and the 108th divisions, the brigade "Dirlewanger", and some smaller units of the police and mountain troops. It is, however, important to note that these troops were not all used simultaneously and continuously and that, being undermanned, understaffed and underequipped, they were divisions in name only ("Schattendivisionen"). They moved in three directions — from west, east and south — towards the strategic center of the uprising — the triangle B. Bystrica — Zvolen — Brezno n/Hr. In spite of at least threefold numerical superiority and excellent defensive terrain the insurgents yielded one position after the other: some fell after hard fighting (Čremošné, Bat'ovany, B. Štiavnica), others were abandoned in panic.

After the liquidation of the armed rebellion the army units were either captured or dispersed. The partisans, led by more experienced Soviet officers, managed to retreat into the mountains in more or less coherent groups, leaving behind their heavy weapons, transport vehicles and ammunition. Their subsequent hibernation in the deep and often inaccessible forests of Central Slovakia was largely of a defensive nature and till January 1945 it did not interfere with the German war effort to any appreciable extent. The complete collapse of the military uprising in the midst of favorable circumstances cannot but remind one of the words of F. Engels written about the Slovak uprising of 1848: Die Slowaken

die die Gebirgpässe innenhaben, würden bei ihren zum Parteidängerkriege vortrefflichen Gegenden gefährliche Gegner sei, wenn sie weniger gleichgültig gestimmt wären. (Neue Rheinische Zeitung, No. 194, Jan. 13, 1849).

The uprising was not the affair of the Slovak people. It was the concern of a small group of short-sighted politicians, mercenary officers and Communists. It lacked the spontaneity with which it was posthumously so generously credited. Apart from some sincere single-minded Communists most of its Slovak participants were either misled or forcibly conscribed into it. Cries like "Death to the German occupants!" sounded hollow, because the German occupation was the result and not the cause of the partisan activity. Catchphrases like "For free Czechoslovakia!" were uninspiring since even the simplest Slovak knew that — as far as freedom was concerned — no Czechoslovakia could ever be a substitute for Slovakia. The Slovak state of 1939-44 with all its drawbacks and limitations was still the richest form of freedom and independence within the memory of all Slovaks. To an ordinary Slovak the fruits of independence were real and tangible, the horrors of fascism hardly perceptible. Any attempts to make him rise against his own state in the name of antifascism were bound to fall flat.

Nobody with sense pours out the baby with the bath water. Yet that was what the selfappointed leaders of the armed rebellion against the Slovak state actually did. Twenty years later one may ask: To what good? Definitely not to the benefit of their nation. And as for their own vain glory and mercenary rewards, these were all of very short duration. As for "dramatis personae" of a Greek tragedy, the men of 29th August one by one fell in disgrace or worse at the hands of those to whose voice they had listened when conspiring against their own state. In 1948 the Communists got rid of their liberal-agrarian partners (Lettrich, Josko, etc.) and in the subsequent Communist purges of 1949-54 everybody who was anybody in the uprising (Žingor, Husák, Šmidke, Novomeský, etc.) was shot, imprisoned or degraded.

*Francis Vnuk*

**SLOVAK LITERATURE AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS BEFORE ANTON BERNOLÁK (1762-1813)**

JOHN REKEM, S.T.D.

**AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE**

There is much misunderstanding in the Anglo-Saxon world about the Slovak literature before Bernolak (1762-1813). Under the influence of some Czech literary historians as Jaroslav Vlcek, A. Prazak, V. Chaloupecky and some others, statements have been repeated that Slovaks till the publishing of Bernolak's "Dissertatio Philologico critica de literis Slavorum" - 1787, did not have their own literature and literary language, that they wrote in "Czechoslovak linguistic union" and Bernolak only separated Slovaks from Czechs in literature and founded Slovak literary language in the form of a Trnava dialect.

The late P.A. Hrobak (1904-1964) repeatedly showed that these Czechisizing tendencies of the above and some other authors were false and unfounded. He refuted their conclusions by profound analysis of their own works and by analysis of historical facts.<sup>1</sup> J. M. Kirschbaum, in a similar way in his works showed the discrepancies and lack of truth of some of these literary historians, who in their work were more led by fervor and expedience of the political tendencies of a "unified Czechoslovak nation" than by historical facts and strict scientific methods.<sup>2</sup> Kirschbaum showed that the most recent Czech literary historical school<sup>3</sup>, compelled by historical evidence abandoned the fictions of the older Czech literary historians about the domination of Czech or "Czechoslovak" language in Slovakia, and this new school acknowledged that: "Slovak language, whose development goes back to ancient times, was established as a literary language in connection with the formation of the Slovaks into a nation ... the establishment of the literary Slovak language can in no way be viewed as a separation from the literary Czech language, but only as a long, slow development towards a literary language" ....<sup>4</sup>

The author of this study already in his previous work: "The Origin and development of the Slovak language"<sup>5</sup>

put forward arguments for the existence of an independent Slovak language, literature and Slovak national feeling long before Bernolak. He followed the existence of independent Slovak consciousness from the oldest Cyrilometodian literary memoirs and fragments up to the so called "Jesuit Slovak language" of the 17th and the 18th centuries before Bernolak's codification of Slovak.

In this study we will deal with other pre-Bernolak representatives of Slovak literature or of Latin writers of Slovak descent, who even if they did not write in Slovak by their Latin works they kindled, strengthened the Slovak consciousness or defended the Slovak nation and its cultural and political rights. We show the existence of grammars codifying the Slovak literary language before Bernolak, the existence of translation of Holy Writ into Slovak long before the "Separatist" move of Bernolak in 1787.

### **Translation of the Holy Writ into Slovak before Bernolak**

The German Christian missions to the Slovaks at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century left their vestiges in the Slovak language, in a special way in religious terminology and in the basic most important prayers<sup>6</sup>, like "Our Father" etc ....

It is certain that in their sermons and religious teaching the German missionaries used single paragraphs from The Holy Writ translated into the language understandable to the Slovaks. Whether they progressed so far as to being able to translate at least the New Testament or even the Old Testament into Slovak we do not know. We hold this was quite unlikely but we can not give this negative answer with certainty. It is known that many historical manuscripts and writings were produced but have not yet been found or were lost and destroyed. This does not mean that they did not exist. More recently some manuscripts were found which put in a new light some periods of history and changed the meaning of historical epochs. It will be necessary to do a great deal of research in the Benedictine monasteries of Austria and Bavaria, where the sons of the Slovak noblemen studied for priesthood and prepared themselves for missionary work among their countrymen. It was a great misfortune for the Slovak cultural history that the Abbey of St. Hyppolite on Zobor near

Nitra was destroyed with all its manuscripts and cultural treasures. This Benedictine Abbey, whose origins date from pre-Cyrilometodian times would answer many a literary and historical problem of the Slovak past.

It was not until the 9th century that the Slovaks obtained translation of The Holy Writ. This translation endured the ravages of time but is still today in some changed forms accessible. The translation was begun by St. Cyril and Methodius and was finished in Slovakia or Great Moravia by the disciples of Methodius, bishop Gorazd and his group, on the feast of St. Demetrius.<sup>7</sup>

In what language was this translation of The Holy Writ written? Macedonio - Bulgarian dialect or Great Moravia Slovak?

Many Slavists consider this translation a Macedonio-Bulgarian language with distinct lexical slovakisms and pure Slovak words. Some others, as professor G. Y. Shevelov of Columbia University, through an analysis of the Kyjev manuscripts, maintains that the original language of this translation is not a Macedonio-Bulgarian dialect, but a Moravian-Slovak dialect with Macedonian infiltrations.<sup>8</sup> Prof. J. Stanislav of Bratislava is of similar views,<sup>9</sup> and so was before him J. Skultety.<sup>10</sup>

Even if the language of this translation was not the colloquial Slovak of that period, it was accepted by the Slovaks of Great Moravia and Pannonia as their own, it was used by them through the following centuries and it formed the cultural and literary basis for their national survival. The Slovaks included the cyrilometodian literature into their cultural and literary heritage from the very beginning. This cyrilometodian literature, including The Holy Writ, became the basis of the Slovak culture and became so deeply rooted in the Slovak nation that even when the Latin language was forced by king Svatopluk on his subjects and when the archbishop Gorazd and other St. Methodius disciples were exiled, this literature could not be suppressed, and lived in the nation and the nation lived by it. And after Svatopluk's death the strong influence of this living literature was the basis for the return and the revival of the old Slovak liturgy. Even after the final defeat of the Glagolitic Slovak Western rite liturgy in the 13th century, the cyrilometodian literature lived in the

homes of the people. The CM translation of the Holy Writ was read, copied, adapted to the changing and developing language and so were in a similar way other manuscripts from the 9th century, as we see f. e. from "Cyrilo-Methodian fragments of Spis" from the 12th or 13th century.<sup>11</sup> Not only that the Slovaks of the Latin rite used through centuries this translation of Scriptures in their homes, but that part which is attached to the Byzantine rite has kept the old Slovak in the liturgical services up to now and still reads in its liturgy pericops and excerpts of Holy Writ in the Old Church-Slovak.

Even when by the progress of history the colloquial Slovak started to differ more and more from the old literary Slovak, the old cyrilomethodian translation remained as teacher for Slovak nation transcribed in Latin letters and accommodated to the changing tongue till next complete new camaldul translation in 18th century.<sup>12</sup>

In the 17th century after the foundation of the Trnava University in 1635 by Cardinal Peter Pazmanyi, the Slovak religious literary life started to unfold more and more. Many secular and jesuit priests of Slovak descent concentrated their literary efforts around the Trnava University and by their books and writings intended to intensify the Catholic religious life and by polemic and apologetic literature to defend Catholic teaching and convert non-Catholic reformators to their faith.

The scope of this Pazmanyi circle<sup>13</sup> was wide, and it prepared its members for their task very methodically. In their work for renewal of religious life they needed new liturgical books new translations, and multifarious literary publications. To have them properly and purposefully written they required in the first place a new translation of the Holy Writ. And that was not a small task. They knew that such a complete translation means that it not only in spiritual direction but as well as linguistical will be influencing the life of the nation maybe for a century, or even more centuries. And fundaments in this case were the basic linguistical norms which should be observed by translators and writers and that way stabilize and codify the literary language, to be an able instrument of instruction and religious edification. So in 1648 a dictionary was published in Trnava : "Vocabularium Hungarico-Latino-Slavonicum"

not mentioning the others. In the Pazmanyi Slovak creative circle they stabilized the norms of Slovak they were using and literary historians designated this as "Jesuit Slovak".<sup>14</sup> What followed and what was produced in this language was no more just single attempts of loose individuals but that was a collective manifestation of a generation of translators and writers from the clergy and later even from laymen professions.

The example of Jesuits and of secular clergy in the Slovak literary field gave impetus to the numerous members of the Franciscan order to a more dynamic literary activity. The members of the Paulinist<sup>15a</sup> and Piarist religious orders gave also their helpful hand to the building of Slovak religious culture and literature. But what is most surprising is the fact that one of the strictest and from outside world segregated orders, so called "mute monks" — as they were till last times called in Nitra region even centuries after their expulsion—the Camaldus, Cistercians<sup>15</sup>, were connected in translating, writing and linguistic work in Slovak language and about Slovak language. From this fact that the Slovak literary movement reached behind the double walls of Camaldule cells we can see how strong that movement was at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries.

Two kinds of literary schools at that time cultivated and were giving impetus to the creation in Slovak for cultural and religious enlightenment of Slovaks: Pazmanyi Circle and Camaldule Circle. Both these literary schools were preparing themselves according to their plans and purposes for speedy and satisfactorily completion of liturgical books: Hymnal "Cantus Catholici" 1655 (written in Spisska Kapitula, published at Trnava University), Ritual, Trnava 1715, then pericops, apologetic, polemic, hagiographic literature in Slovak vernacular. All this served as a preparation for the translation of the Holy Writ in New Slovak.

There is still a question how far the Pazmanyi Circle cooperated with the Camaldule Circle which succeeded in translating the whole Holy Scripture into New Slovak. This circle appeared a little later on the Slovak literary stage, but its significance and endeavours were rivaling with the older Pazmanyi Circle. We know the Camaldules continued in the work of the preceding Pazmanyi Circle but



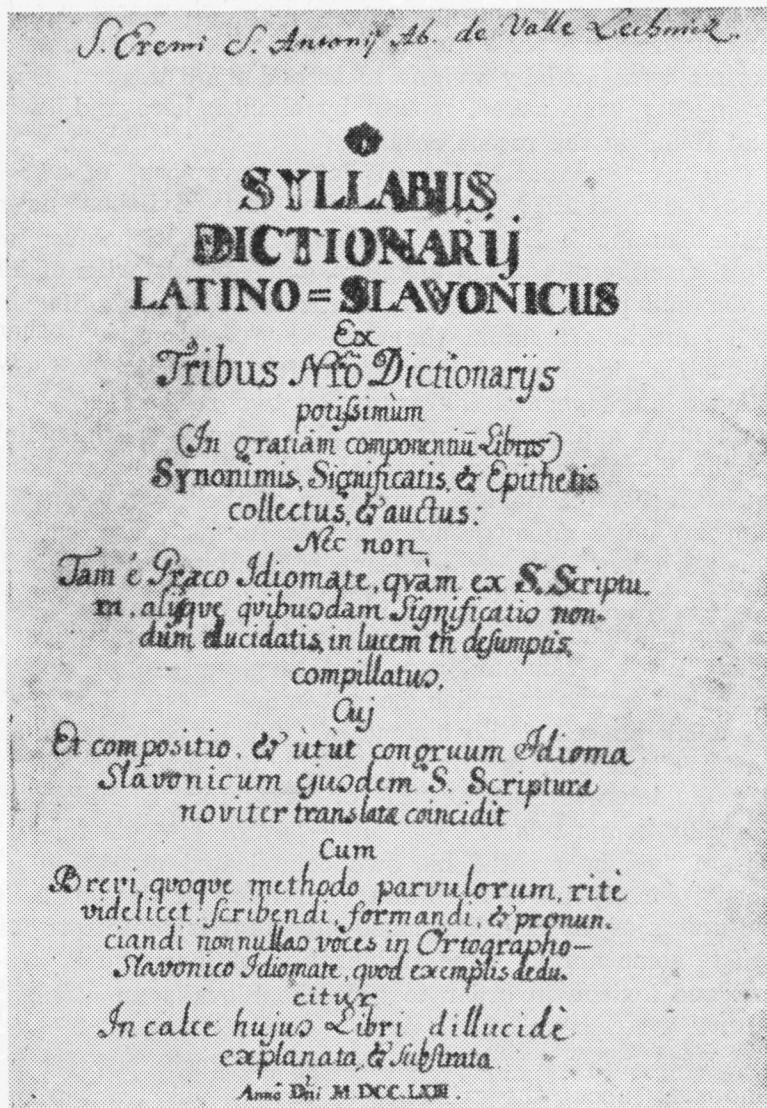
Cantus Catholici — Pýsne katholické, Trnava 1655. Copy from the Bibliothek of the Piarist convent, which Czech communists confiscated and turned into a Concentration camp for priests and religious brothers

whether they worked independently, or they were commissioned to do the translation of the Holy Writ by the Pazmanyi Circle we are not certain. All the Cistercian convents are in ruins and their ample libraries with precious manuscripts were sold by weight to second hand dealers. Only fragments were saved, mostly by chance, here and there and found in the recent decades.

Thus "Syllabus dictionarij latino-slavonicus" of 1763<sup>16</sup> was found in 1929. The author of this "Syllabus" is a cistercian monk Romuald Hadbavny from Michalovce of Spis, a scribe of convent chapters, domestic historian of his order and probably the main realizator of Slovak literary and cultural efforts in the Camaldule community.<sup>17</sup> This "Syllabus" is of great importance for the history of the Slovak language and literature for two reasons: (a) for interesting and perfect orthographic rules from the point of the Slovak language of today: (b) for its connections with the first Camaldule translation of the Holy Writ into Slovak, which follows the linguistic norms prescribed in this "Syllabus" as professor Eugen Pauliny proved.<sup>18</sup>

In the introduction to "Syllabus" its author R. Hadbavny mentions a "Little Grammar for a Slovak student". This "Little Grammar" means a couple pages of orthographical norms in which he got more ahead than later Bernolak himself.<sup>19</sup> So instead of "au" he commanded to write "u", he prefers to write "G" for the sound "J", however he tolerates writing "aj" or "ay"; for "ŕ" he<sup>20</sup> categorically commands "r" for "ú" — "ó" or "ú"; as for the use of "y", he created his own complicated norms which do not correspond to the literary tradition or the linguistical status of his day. But most important is the effort to create some norms, some stabilization of language in syntax and lexicon in order to give the Slovaks an efficient cultural instrument.<sup>21</sup>

Even when there was known the testimony of R. Hadbavny about the existence of new Slovak translations of Holy Writ of that time<sup>22</sup>, and some of Bernolak's colleagues mentioned it too, we did not know anything closer about this translation, and its copies. Only when professor Vendelin Jankovic found it and described it in the literary review "Verbum" 1946 we got closer knowledge of this literary effort of the beginning of 18th century. V. Jankovic



R. Hadvabný's Syllabus dictionarij manuscript from 1763.  
From the suppressed Lechnica Camaldul Convent library

places its origin into the first half of 18th century. The manuscript started to be transcribed as final edition and that of the New Testament first on May 6th, 1756. This manuscript was finished on March 10th, 1759. According to Jankovic this translation is by a Camaldule monk either from Nitra or Nitra's vicinity. This manuscript according to him was written probably in Cerveny Klastor (Red Cloister). He supports this view by the following evidence: (1) The Camaldule convent on Mount Zobor near Nitra had in its large library a rich bibliistic literature, while the Camaldul cloister in Lechnica had a copious dictionary literature and lexicographic literature. (2) The language of this translation is similar to the dialect of Nitra valley. On the other side, professor E. Pauliny in his previously mentioned study about this translation, tried to prove that character of this Holy Writ language in its basic texture was pre-Bernolak "Jesuit Slovak" and some dialecticisms in it place it more to the North of Slovakia to the Polish-Slovak linguistical frontiers. According to Pauliny the translator was probably a monk from Červený Kláštor. The question of author of this whole translation is still open. But it is significant that E. Pauliny showed that although Hadbavny's "Syllabus" is from 1763 and there is a copy of the Holy Writ dating already from 1756-1759, this translation was done according to the norms of "Syllabus". From this it can be concluded that if the author of the "Syllabus", was not also the author of the translation, he must have been at least a member of the circle which cooperated on this translation of The Holy Writ.

The 17th and the 18th centuries in Europe and in Slovakia were a period of religious controversies and conflicts between two reformations: protestant and catholic. Each of these movements tried to use all the means of communications and all cultural tools for the victory of its ideas. But while in most parts of Europe the Protestant reformation gave impulse to the awakening and formation of national and vernacular movements, in Slovakia the opposite occurred. Quite a number of protestant clergy studied in Bohemia and the backbone of protestantism in Slovakia was Bohemian, The Czech protestant exiles, who came to Slovakia before and especially after the battle of White Mountain in 1618 tried to establish the Czech Biblical lan-

guage as a liturgical and a literary language of their group and thus attempted to halt the basic strong Slovak national trend which was gradually growing among the Slovaks. But this tide could not be stopped even by the obstacles imposed by Hussites, Czech exils, and the protestant reformation imported to Slovakia. Some Slovak protestants succumbed to this bohemizing or Czechisizing tendency, some stopped confused, half-way. It took considerable time before the Evangelical protestant representatives in Slovakia escaped from their confused illusions and complicated artificial constructions (Czechoslovak, Czecho-Slav, Panslavistic) and accepted a natural and positive attitude toward Slovak national individuality and cultural independence. Even then this new attitude was influenced more by the philosophies of enlightenment, utilitarianism and romanticism than by historico-political trends.<sup>23</sup>

On the contrary the attitude of Slovak Catholics was more favorable to the development of a geographically conceived nationalism and to the creation of the national consciousness and individuality. The Catholics accepted the Slovak historical continuity of the cyrilomethodian heritage and of the heritage of Great Moravia<sup>24</sup> throughout all the phases of the Hungarian feudal statehood. They built on this continuity and developed it. And this different political and cultural orientation grounded their awakening national consciousness, so that this consciousness from the beginning was by this group more concrete, more real. The Slovak Catholics, the majority of the population, from the very beginning in their liturgical and extra-liturgical works (prayer books, hymnals, hagiographical, apologetic, polemical literature, Holy Writ translations) were more consistent in using their vernacular, which was more and more oriented to the Central Slovak dialect and which later was codified as literary language.

It was Recatholization which designated the translation of Holy Writ in the new Slovak as a zenith of religious and cultural efforts in order to give Slovaks not only a symbol of their own individuality, but also in order to unify their nation on the way to the eternal end.

This translation however required a linguistic normalization and codification. For this purpose it was necessary to produce in advance or simultaneously the works and

books dealing with the stabilizing and codifying of the modern Slovak tongue and thus it came not only to stabilizing of the sacral, liturgical literary style of the language, but even to the cristalization of the Slovak language and Slovak culture. **And this was realized quite a long time before Bernolak's linguistical reform, even before the birth of Bernolak in 1762.**

Valid is then the thesis that the origin of the literary Slovak as a cultural and literary instrument, and indirectly the national awakening of Slovakia, was caused and speeded by recatholization. The last and almost concealed branch of recatholization is Bernolak's movement. And it is its branch in that sense that this movement systemizes (and on this word, "systemizes" is the objective emphasis) as its religious winnings as well as its national cultural gains.

From what has been said above we see how unfounded is the legend about the Bernolak's separation of Slovak and Czech union, which has been repeated so often by some Czech or by literary historians influenced by Czechs. This false legend was put before the world public explaining the origin of the Slovak nation and Slovak language first when Bernolak's study was published: **Dissertatio philologico critica de litteris Slavorum** (Bratislava 1787). As we showed in this chapter Bernolak's systematizing work was only a culmination and completion of that one which was cultivated and prepared by generations of writers and translators on the field of religious as well as secular literature before Bernolák. The pre-Bernolak translation of The Holy Writ into new Slovak, being prepared with such a careful linguistical reform and consolidations, is an obvious proof, not counting many other numerous literary creations in Jesuit Slovak, of an independent Slovak language, literature and of national consciousness long before Bernolak.

**Samuel Timon (1675-1736) defender of the idea of  
Slovak independent nation.**

In the development of Slovak national consciousness before Bernolak movement, has, beside others, a lion share a Latin writer and historian, Slovak jesuit father from Trenčianska Turná, **Samuel Timon, S.J.<sup>25</sup>** In the mosaic of the

evolution of national consciousness of Slovak Catholic intelligentsia this writer and historian, known at that time in the whole of Central Europe, occupies an important and leading part.

Of utmost influence in the awakening of the Slovaks to their national consciousness and revival was the Cyrilometodian heritage connected with the idea of Slovak independence during the time of Great Moravian kingdom in the ninth century. Slovak historians long before Bernolák, especially the Pazmany circle around the Trnava University (1635-1777) turned their eyes towards the history of their country in the period preceding the arrival of Magyars into the Central European valley. They started to delve deeper into the historical facts of Slovakia during the Great Moravian period and they showed how the Slovak element influenced religiously and culturally their neighbours, especially the Magyars, at the time of their conversion to Christianity. They proved how the Slovak administrative apparatus helped to organize the beginnings of the Hungarian State, where Slovakia had its own autonomous position in the form of Nitra dauphiné principality (Nitrianske údelsné kniežatstvo) for a long time even after the disappearance of the Slovak Kingdom. The historians of Slovak origin (S. Timon, M. Szentiványi, M Bel, J. B. Magin) accepted the historical Slovak continuity from Great Moravia through all phases of the feudal Hungarian State, made it a basis of their research and developed it. On this basis they deduced, some quite discretely (Timon, Bel), others more openly and vociferously (Magin), the original right of the Slovaks to their own country, with all the connected natural rights, even the right to autonomy, independence and freedom of the Slovak language.

Samuel Timon was born in Trenč. Turná in 1675 from a noble (zeman) family. His father was Ján Timon and mother Barbara Hrabovská. Already from the family environment and from elementary school he had a strong national consciousness. We saw him in Trenčín secondary school (Gymnasium) always registered as, "Slovak" (Pannonus, Slavus).

In 1682, when only seven years old, he was enrolled in the first grade of the Jesuit gymnasium<sup>28</sup> as Samuel Timon

Nobilis Pannon Turnensis Catholicu Anno 7. Primi anni; Samuel Timon, nobleman, Slovak of Turna, Catholic, 7 years of age, grade one. He is similarly identified in the following year, 1683, in grade two, and also in the year 1685, except the name "Parmonus" is replaced by "Slavus". His nationality is similarly described in the class of 1687 and 1688.

Upon graduating from gymnasium he entered the Jesuit Order in Bratislava in 1693. When he completed there his courses in philosophy and theology, he became a professor. First he taught in Trnava, together 14 years, then for 18 years he continued teaching at the Jesuit Academy at Košice, also an institute with university standing.

History was his main subject of interest but although he devoted his time mainly to historical research, he also was active in pastoral work in parishes. His historical works written in Latin were in such demand that they had to be reprinted in many editions and became textbooks in the Catholic gymnaziums and colleges of contemporary Hungary. His work "Purpura Pannonica" which presents the biographies and works of the cardinals of the Hungarian Crown appeared in several editions. The "Imago antiquae et novae Hungariae" which was the most read work on Hungarian history was published in Kosice in 1733, 1745, 1766 1766 and in Vienna in 1754.

In this work, which gained acclaim in the whole of Europe, Timon strives to prove, on linguistic grounds, that the Central-Danubian regions of the early history were occupied by Slovaks-Pannoni and the origin of "Panonus" he derives from the Slovak word "Pan" (which is equivalent to Latin - "Dominus"). He considers the Slovaks as direct successors of the "Slavic tribes" of Markomani, Kvadi, Sarmati. He deals with the empire of Samo and his successors - Maravod, Svatos, Borut, etc. With deep attachment he presents the great epochs of Greater Moravia, and devotes them most of his work. He deals with almost all Slovak princes of that period: Mojmir, Pribina, Rastislav, Svatopluk. He writes about St. Cyril and Methodius as "The apostles of Slovaks". The historian A. A. Banik appropriately writes about Timon: "He is not satisfied with plain historical facts when narrating these events, but

frequently he gives way to his Slovak sentiments using an elaborate style to describe the outstanding details of the Slovak history and by taking predilection in branding into the history of other Slav nations." This sentiment is apparent in the chronicle describing the armies of Svatopluk crossing the Danube in 885 into Pannonia, which took them a complete day, and how they subsequently, for a prolonged period, engaged in destroying the power of Arnulf.<sup>27</sup> We can see the same feeling in the writings about the son of Svatopluk, Svatoborgius or Svatocopius who went to live in seclusion on Zobor near Nitra, died as a saint and was buried in the church of St. Emeramus in Nitra.<sup>28</sup>

A similar national attachment and pride is apparent in other parts of Timon's works.

Another work of Timon, which is of great importance for the history of Slovakia and which shows Timon's Slovak national feelings is: "Synopsis novae chronologicale regnorum Hungariae, Croatiae, Dalmatiae . . ." pars. I — III.<sup>29</sup> His Slovak national consciousness is apparent in that he was the first historian who when presenting the history of the Hungarian Crown devoted a special attention to the Slovaks and he was in this distinct from other historiographers of contemporary Hungary, such as Turocius, Bonfini and Istvanfy.

Wherever he can, he reminds his countrymen, and the enemies of his nation, of the great epoch of St. Cyril and Methodius<sup>30</sup>, of the authorisation of the Slovak liturgy by the Holy See<sup>31</sup> and wherever he is able to indicate that a person was of Slovak origin and was of some importance in the history of Hungary, he does not omit to stress this. His work also shows much of his local-patriotism, since wherever, he can, he mentions Trenčín and in many places he intertwines the history of Trenčín into the general history of Hungary. There is no wonder, in view of his Slovak patriotic tone in his works, that even his Jesuit brothers teased him, as one who would make even a Jupiter into a Slovak.

In his work "Series serum Hungaricarum"<sup>32</sup> as in the works already mentioned, he especially reminds us of the grandeur of Greater Moravia, of the power of king Svatopluk and of other Slovak princes. He emphasizes the Slovak origin of the names of cities, towns, villages, rivers, mountains in the Slovak regions of Hungary and derives from

this the historical rights of the Slovaks to their territory and to a certain extent also their political rights within the Hungarian Crown. By putting a special emphasis on the work of St. Cyril and Methodius in Slovakia he preserves the continuity of the St. Cyril and Methodius tradition and thus awakens a Slovak national consciousness in the Slovak intelligentsia, (who read and spoke in Latin) as well as in his students at gymnasiums and colleges especially at Trnava. He was an organic link in the chain of the St. Cyril and Methodius tradition, which, through his influence, is presented in the works of Papanek and in the Bernolak movement as a philosophy of history of the Slovak nation.<sup>33</sup>

We are able to show there was a distinct Slovak linguistic and national tradition, long before Bernolak, which had very little in common with the Czechs. If this tradition lacked a linguistic and national unity it nevertheless gravitated towards the unity. This is demonstrable by: The Camaldul translation of the Holy Scriptures into Slovak in 1723, the historical patriotic consciousness of Timon, the Slovak polemic writings of Stefan Dubnicay (1675-1725), the assertion of the political rights of Slovaks in 1728 by Jan B. Magin (1682-1735), the subsequent liturgical books, edited in Slovak by the University of Trnava as well as non-liturgical works; then "Cantus Catholici" edited in 1665 with a Slovak patriotic introduction by B. Szobosi-Rybicky; The linguistic reform of the Pazmany and Camaldul circles; the "Syllabus dictionarii latino-Slavonicus" of 1763. These works show how futile it is to denounce Bernolak (1762-1813) as one who separated the Slovaks from the Czechs, as the alleged unity with the Czechs never existed, except only through the descendants of the protestant exiles who settled in Slovakia. The Catholic population, which then was in clear majority, was oriented towards national independence in the frame of the Hungarian state and endeavoured to preserve the historical continuity of Greater Moravia as well as of St. Cyril and Methodius tradition which it accepted as the philosophy of Slovak history. Bernolak and his movement only nurtured, enlarged in scope and completed what had been gradually developed and formulated through centuries by many generations of Slovak people and what manifested itself so remarkably in the Jesuit Slovak in the years 1635 up to the year 1787

when Bernolak published his: "Dissertatio philologico critica de literis Slavorum".<sup>34</sup>

### **Štefan Dubnicay (1675-1725) — a Slovak Polemist and Historian.<sup>35</sup>**

The polemical literature of the 17th and 18th centuries in Slovakia was very prolific and colourful through the contributions both of Catholics and of Protestants. The leaders on both sides were aware of the importance of the printed word and endeavoured to apply it in support of their faith. Polemics were written in many languages, most of them in Latin, then in Slovak, in Hungarian, in German. Printing houses were established even in small towns of Slovakia and became prosperous. On the Catholic side the University of Trnava (1635-1777) provided a new vigor to the polemical authors and during its life published 79 polemical-apologetic books in Latin, 14 in Slovak, 12 in German and 20 in Hungarian.<sup>36</sup> Amongst Catholics the most successful in the work of religious conversion by written word was Rev. Stefan Dubnicay, a parish priest in Trencianska Tepla. According to J. Vlcek he made out of Tepla a "literary counter-reformation centre"<sup>37</sup> and according to A. A. Banik "an active recatholisation centre".<sup>38</sup> In the words of Vlcek the Catholic parish in Tepla was for several decades a similar counter-reformation literary centre, as was for some time Zilina and as was to a greater extent and for a longer period Trnava and Bratislava. The polemical-apologetic books written by Dubnicay would form a small library.<sup>39</sup> And the result of his literary work and endeavours? In his own parish of Teplá he had 908 converts<sup>40</sup> whose names he entered into the Register with his own hand<sup>41</sup> and in the archidiaconate of Trencin and Hradná the Catholic doctrine was accepted by 28,687 adult Protestant, as the result of his work, in the period between the end of the Rakoczy uprising and the year 1722.

The following are the polemical-apologetic literary works of Dubnicay:

1. *Primitiae Deo et Agno — Prwotiny Bohu a Berankowi. Apoc. III. Togest: Prawdiwe Wylozeny ze Swatostni Beranek, — nelen w samem Uziwany, ale y pod, a pomimo uplnego pozjwany prawe zustawa* (Trnava, 1716)

2. "Orthodoxa propugnatio Patrio — Legalis Formulae Juramenti — To gest Kraticke Katolicke dokazany ..." Published in 1717.
3. "Manna Absconditum Apoc. 2. Manna Skryta, to gest: Prediwne a Nepochopitelne Tagemstwi Manny Zakona Nowego." Published in 1718.
4. "Congruum Colloquium. 2. Mach. 14. Prjslussne Ros-mluwanj Farare Katolickeho s Troma Nowo-Ewangeliky Farniky swymi." Published in 1719.
5. "Panis Quotidianus, Parvulorum. Chleb Wezdegssj Malickych." Published in 1721.

From the Protestant point of view, these works were assailed by:

1. Ján Blázy (Blasius) Senior, a pastor of Trencin who wrote against Dubnicay in Czech: "Brime uvalene na Hospodina, aneb obrana proti falesnemu obvineni Stepana Dubniczay, Goliase tohoto vojska Bozího Hanejiczyho."<sup>42</sup> This work remained in manuscript.
2. In 1718 Daniel Krman, an evangelical superintendent wrote, under an anonym: "Anti Dubnicay. Man-Hu? Co jest to za Mannu skrytou, ktorou Dubniczay Pleban Teplansky, no svetlo vydal."<sup>43</sup>

Dubnicay replied Krman in 1721 in an extensive work: "Eductus coluber tortuosus-Wywedeny Tocliwy had."<sup>44</sup>

Out of Dubnicay historical works, we should mention his numerous historical introductions in his general works, his short entries in the parish chronicles in Tr. Teplá and especially his voluminous manuscript: "Metamorphosis fidei orthodoxae de Bono in Malum et vicissim in Comitatu Trenchiniensi ac vel maxime in Privilegiato Oppido Solna ab anno 1600."<sup>45</sup>

This work, with minor changes in the title and in the contents was edited five times after the death of Dubnicay. In 1737 it was published by Martin Sigismundi. And in the same year it was put into print by Ondrey Tzibere and by the canon of Jager, Daniel Kilian. In 1759 the Kilian edition was published again under the name: "Vicissitudo Orthodoxa religionis."

About the polemics, we should note this was a period of religious controversies and not of religious dialogue.

Irony and satire were frequently used on both sides, the attacks were vehement in the name of truth and frequently without Christian love.

But we are interested in Dubnicay mainly because of his linguistic achievement and because of his position in Slovak literature.

Dr. A. A. Banik, a friend of mine who is an expert on that period and who thoroughly analyzed the work of Dubnicay and of Magin, in one of his letters to me described Dubnicay as "fearless defender of the faith, a skillful apologist and an esteemed worker for the nation. He is a milestone between two epochs of Slovak national life as through his religious-polemic works he concludes a two-hundred-year-long period of religious quarrels, just when Magin, his neighbour of Dubnica, through his nationally-apologetic efforts begins to spread new and nationally oriented ideas. Both were graduates of Pazmaneum of Vienna, personal friends, neighbours in the pastoral work, but so much apart in their position in the evolution of the Slovak culture. The Slovak literary historians consider the work of Dubnicay as a milestone in Slovak literature."<sup>46</sup>

The Hungarian literary historians included Dubnicay in Hungarian literature but did not omit to state he wrote in Slovak.<sup>47</sup>

Only the Czech literary historians tore him out of the Slovak literature and placed him into the Czech one. J. Vlček omits Dubnicay in his history of Slovak literature but in his history of Czech literature he devotes him four pages.

Albert Prazak<sup>48</sup> places him in Slovak literature, but when referring to his "Eductus Coluber tortuosus" states he wrote in Czech, in some instances using "ř". This statement cannot be supported by any factual evidence. I had the privilege, through the kindness of the archbishop K. Kmetko, to borrow the work. "Eductus coluber tortuosus" from the Diocesan library in Nitra and was able to peruse it for two years. During my study of the work, I was unable to locate a single "ř" in this work of Dubnicay. Similar way I can testify about the manuscripts of Dubnicay accessible in Tr. Teplá Parish archives.

In my previous thesis, I showed that the language of Dubnicay was the Western Slovak dialect, which has cer-

tain similarities with the Czech language in view of the geological closeness to the Moravian boundaries.

The language of Dubnicay is not Czech; but Slovak and Dubnicay in many places of his work draws difference between Czechs and Slovaks. Thus in his "Eductus coluber tortuosus" p. 225 when pointing out to where Krman copied his arguments (against him) states this was from "Czeska knižka Theologie Wittemberska" — (Czech book of Wittemberg Theology). He does not refer to it as a Czechoslovak book, but as a Czech one, distinguishing it from Slovak books.

That Dubnicay was proud of being a Slovak, in spite of the fact that his books were read in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, is evident from a letter (June 27th, 1719) of L. Tempes, the bishop of Breslau (Wróclaw). The bishop, who was no doubt aware of Dubnicay's national feeling, did not omit to praise the Slovak nation and language in the letter in which he thanked Dubnicay, for his books, which had such a beneficial influence in his diocese. Although the Silesians of the Polish territories were able to read and to understand Dubnicay's works, it never occurred to the Poles to include Dubnicay in Polish literature. They recognized him as a Slovak and even considered Slovak language as a mother language of the daughter provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and Bohemia.

Thus according to L. Tempes, Hungary was the mother country of the Slovak language (*linguae Slavicae*) and Moravia, Silesia, and Bohemia were daughter provinces of the Slovak tongue.<sup>49</sup>

There were no compact Czech settlements in Hungary and the Czech language was not spoken there in this sense. If one talks about "*lingua Slavica*" in Hungary this can only refer to Slovaks and to their language.<sup>50</sup>

Since 1936 I have been searching through the archives and examining the documents about the families of Dubnicay, Dubnický. I searched the archives of the county of Trenčín, the parish archives of Trenčín, Teplá, Dubnica, Orechové, Súča and I found documents written in Latin and in Slovak.<sup>51</sup> I found not only the histories of the Dubnicay and Dubnický families but also many others and if these were not written in Latin, they were written in a Slovak dialect of their location. In none of these sources I

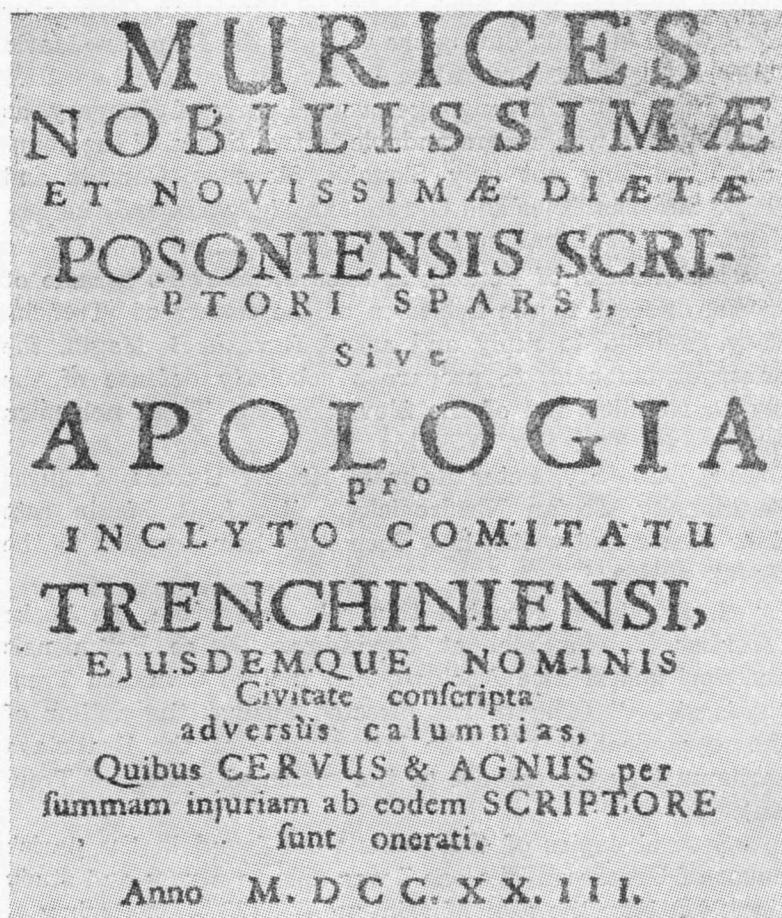
came across the letter "ř" (rz) which is typical of the Czech language. This also shows how false are the theories about a 300 year rule of Czech language in Slovakia before Bernolák as held by some Czech literary historians. It shows further how far from truth are these Slavists in the Western world, who, without being able to study the first hand sources, accepted these identical theories.

**J. B. Magin — a Latin Writer and Defender  
of Slovak Rights (1682-1735)**

M. Bencsik of Trnava published in 1722, a book about the last session of the Bratislava Parliament under the title: The last session of his Majesty the King of the Lords and Estates of the Glorious Kingdom of Hungary and of the lands attached to it.<sup>52</sup>

In this work he unfavorably deals with the position of the Slovaks in Hungary. He maintains that the Slovaks lost their rights when the king Svatopluk sold the Slovak lands for a white horse. This legend was created in the 14th century by a Hungarian chronicler — J. Thomoczy and without being supported by any historical evidence, in the 18th century it became the basis for negation of Slovak rights in Hungary. J. B. Magin refutes this legend in his work and demands for the Slovaks in Hungary the same rights as were enjoyed by other nationalities.

It is necessary to point out that while Latin was still used in the 17th century as an official language in the parliamentary sessions, and also as a tongue of intelligentsia of an otherwise multilingual Hungary, the individual nationalities were becoming more and more conscious of their national identity and were demanding their proper political rights. Thus the question arose, which language would become an official language should Latin be abandoned. This was the period when Latin started to lose its prestige among the families of noblemen, who until now considered it their colloquial tongue. This caused linguistic and political tensions among the intelligentsia. The Slovaks who inhabited Slovakia, also referred to as upper Hungary, moved as colonist into the Lower Hungary (Hungary proper) and formed there compact settlements after the population in these lands was decimated by the Turkish armies. The Slovaks at that time



J. B. Magin, Murices sive Apologia, Púchov 1723

were in many respects the predominant nationality. Their position was also strengthened by the fact that the Slovak language was understandable to Croats, Slovenes and Serbs who were other Slavic members of the Habsburg monarchy. The Slovak language was much closer to them than German or Hungarian. Already during the reign of the Empresse Maria Teresia, her counsellor Adam Kollar advised her to install Slovak as an official language over all parts of Hungary, as this language was understandable to two thirds of the population including not only Slovaks, Slovenes, Chroats and Serbs, but also Poles and Ukrainians of Galicia and the Ruthenes of Subkarpatian Ukraina.

The attacks of Bencsik against the Slovaks became of special interest to the noblemen of the county of Trenčin. They resolved to reply and asked Rev. J. B. Magin, the priest of Dubnica, to prepare a scholarly defense of the Slovak Nobility and of the Slovak nation. These noblemen were: Jan Frídeky, Mikulas Illeshazy, Jozef Illeshazy, Ondrej Dubnický, Peter Rajman, Kristof Ugronovic, Juraj Terstiansky, Stefan Nozdrovicky, etc. J. B. Magin lists their names and writes how deep was their devotion to the Slovak nation.<sup>53</sup>

J. B. Magin accepted this role and wrote the book: "Murices Nobillissimae et Novissimae Dietae Posoniensis Scriptori sparsi Sive Apologia Pro Inclyto Comitatu Trenčiniensi ..." (The thorns directed against the author of the work dealing with the last session of the Bratislava parliament or the defense of the esteemed county of Trenčin).

Several copies of this work were found in the parish house of Orechova. The one I was able to peruse and study (in 1941) bore the year of printing — 1723 — in Puchov.

Dr. A. A. Banik in his study about J. B. Magin shows why the year 1723 should be considered as a printing error and the year 1728 as the correct year of the publication. These views of Dr. Banik are now generally accepted by literary historians.

In Magin's work we find the ideas, which on a smaller scale also appear in the works of other contemporary patriotic writers. The study of history does not only provide the basis for the national awakening but also the basis

of the demands for political and cultural rights. It was argued on historical grounds, that the Slovaks — the autochthonous inhabitants of Slovakia since Great Moravia were entitled to equal rights with other nationalities. The spark of national consciousness grew larger through the works of such writers as Martin Szentivany, Peter Schez, Mikulas Miris, Samuel Timon, Benedik Szölösi-Rybničký. But this spark became a beacon in the work of Magin. Here it is no longer a sentimental vision, but rather a lighthouse, a guide to practical policy.

Magin's work is a culmination of the developments toward the Slovak national consciousness before Bernolak. It embodies ideas of full Slovak participation in the administrative fields on all levels, municipal, county, and state.

The finding of Magin's work as well as the discoveries of the "Syllabus" of Hadbavny and of the Camaldul translation of the Holy Scriptures throws a completely new light on the pre-Bernolak period. When we study these works together with the works of other authors mentioned here previously, we see this was not a period of darkness, an empty period where nothing Slovak was produced as has been maintained by some Czech Literary historians.

They ignore the Slovak Catholic literature, often present it in a false content to minimize Slovak achievements and to justify the fiction of a three-hundred-year rule of Czech language in Slovakia before Bernolak. Contrary to this we see this was a period of active and industrious work in literature, linguistics, religion, history, and in practical policies patriotically oriented. This is not only a period of awakening but also of practical and purposeful activity in the cultural, political, and religious spheres. And it is very significant that this activity differs from the Czech, Polish, Hungarian trends in the same fields. While the Slovaks maintained close contacts and cooperation with these neighbouring nations they did not lose their individuality which had its roots in the cyrilomethodian era and in the era of Great Moravia of the 9th century.

Magin and Dubnicay are the most significant representatives of this process and their work presents clear evidence of its Slovak character. Magin puts forward the Slovak demands for equal political and cultural rights. Dubnicay in

his prolific works acquaints the outside world with the trends in Slovakia and we see through the recognition he and his works received that even abroad the Slovaks were recognized as a nation different from the Czechs, from the Silesians and Slovakia was even considered as a heart of the Slavic nation or especially as a "mother house" of the Western Slavs.

Against this patriotic feeling of the Slovak Catholics which was rooted in the history and in the Slovak soil, we have the claims about the rule of the Czech language over Slovakia, the liturgical language of the Slovak protestant. This was a language brought into Slovakia and as soon as it crossed the boarder it was subjected to the influences of its new environment. This language was introduced as a Protestant liturgical language at the Zilina synod in 1610. But the Protestants who were to a large extent descendants of Czech religious exiles, reinforced by successive waves of Czech emigration, were not able to prevent the influences of the Slovak environment on this new language. The Czech language never became a language of daily usage in Slovakia and even in liturgy it was subjected to modifications. There were very few pastors who were willing to use and to pronounce the Czech "Ř". They pronounced it as a Slovak "R". Slovak terms and idioms gradually penetrated even into the liturgical or "biblical" language and it became dead language even more so than the Latin as Latin was a language of daily use of the intelligentsia and of the noblemen until the first half of the 19th century. Within a large majority of the Slovak Catholics the spirit of national consciousness grew stronger and stronger and nourished by the historical background it gradually developed strong concrete forms. It also fitted into the public and state affairs of the Hungarian crown as in the period which Latin was an official language Hungary still respected the ethnic rights of the individual nationalities.

The persecution of the non-Hungarian nationalities came about one hundred years later, after Hungarian replaced Latin as an official language.<sup>54</sup>

In the periods described above, the recatholisation supported and speeded-up the development of the Slovak literary language and of individual Slovak literature and cul-

ture generally. The Bernolak movement, with its codification of the literary language can be considered as a culmination of this process of Slovakisation of literature which started with recatholisation.

The literary school of Kohut which was grouped around "Literarne listy" held this view but had not yet on hand the evidence which is available now to us to confirm these conclusions.<sup>55</sup>

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25. J. Rekem: Z kultúrnych dejín Trenčianskeho Považia (From the cultural history of Trenčín Wag Valley). Chapter S. Timon. Trenčín 1943. Dr. A. A. Baník: Novšie udaje na poznanie Jána Baltazára Magina jeho diela i doby. Spolok Sv. Vojtech, Trnava 1937, str. 119.

26. Matrica Scholasticae Juventutis R. M. Gymnasii Trenchiniensis ab. a 1655 inchoata usque 1775 continuata 20. Archives of St. Albert Society (SSV), Trnava. In the records of Turná Parish I can not find anything about this Samuel Timon, because present records started

only from 1690. The previous ones were burnt. But there is a baptismal record of a different one Samuel Timon born later "1719, die 3. Septembris baptisatus est infans nomine Samuel de parentibus P. ac P. Domino Stephano Thýmon matre vero P. ac P. Domina Susanna Bírovský ex Turna. Patrini: Illustr. Dominus Baro Stephanus Ruthkay cum Illustr. filia sua Virgine Magdalena."

27. Baník: O. c. p. 308.
28. Baník: O. c. p. 343-4.
29. Tyrnavia 1714. This books were in Parish library of Trenčín. And in them were precious old margin notes about S. Timon and his life. And on the last pages was handwritten history of city of Trenčín.
30. Timon: O. c. II, p. 89.
31. Timon: O. c. I, p. 22.
32. Trnava, 1714-5. In Trenčín Parish library too, AD. 1945.
33. About more Timon's books and literary works cf. Rizner: Biografie, (BPS), VI. 27-28, and Lombardini in Slovenské Pohľady 1887, č. 6.
34. Posonii — Bratislava, 1787.
35. From Literature about St. Dubnicay: J. Rekem: Z diela o živote Št. Dubnicaya polemického spisovateľa, Trenčín, 1944. J. Rekem: Slovenské národné povedomie v diele Št. Dubnicaya, Trenčín, 1943. Idem: Št. Dubnicay a jeho doba, Trenčín 1944. Idem: Z kultúrnych dejín Trenčianskeho považia. Trenčín 1943. Pavol Rekem: Stručné dejiny obce Tr. Teplá, Monografia Tr. Tepléj, Ilava 1936.
36. Št. Dúbravec: Apologetika a kontroverzistika na bývalej katolíckej univerzite v Trnave. Sborník LVO' SSV. Trnava 1935, roč. II. sv. 2. str. 195.
37. J. Vlček: Dějiny české literatury III. díl. II. vyd. 1931. Praha p. 38-39.
38. A. A. Baník: Novšie údaje . . . p. 68.
39. Vlček: DČL p. 39.
40. Manuscript: Visitatio Ecclesiae Teplensis p. 21-24. Parish archives of Tr. Teplá.
41. Manuscript: Liber matricularis recompactus a D. 1828. That are Parish records beginning from AD 1680, which were later rebound with the later time records AD 1828. In this records we find the datums, notices, texts of foundations and accounts written by S. Dubnicay and his successors. Texts are in Latin and Slovak.
42. Literárne Listy r. 1892, p. 77. Slovenské Pohľady, 1887, p. 42. This manuscript was in the archives of The Czech national Museum in Prague.
43. Dr. J. Ďurovič in his: Evanjelická literatúra do tolerancie (Evangelical literature till Tolerance patent) Turč. Sv. Martin, 1940, p. 193 showed some doubts about the Krman's authorship of Anti Dubnicczay. Therefore in my book: Štefan Dubnicay a jeho doba I dedicated a chapter to this question: "Personality of Anti-Dubnicay, antagonist of Dubnicay, where I proved the authorship of Krman of this book. p. 35-38.
44. Cf. József Vágner in Magyar Sion, Tomus XIX, ordine XXXVIII, Budae, Anno 1806. cites edition ECT from 1729. — Szinnei József in Magyar Írok élete és munkai. Budapest 1893 cites ECT Trnava edition

from 1729. The same A. Zellinger in his Pantheon Tyrnaviense, 1931, p. 84.

45. Manuscript was in the Archives of Archeepiscopal library of Esztergom, Hungary. By courtesy of Msgr. J. Pöstény director of St. Adalbert Society Library and Archives, Trnava I had chance to study this manuscript couple months, till it was returned to Esztergom.

46. Dr. A. A. Baník in the letter addressed to J. Rekem from Sept. 30. 1942. Cf J. Rekem: Št. Dubnicay, p. 8, p. 51.

47. Cf Szinnei József: Magyar írok élete és munkai, Budapest 1893: Tót szövegű hitvitazzómunka . . ."

48. A. Pražák: Ďejiny spisovné slovenštiny po dobu Štúrova, Praha 1922, p. 111-2.

49. Latin Letter of L. Tempes, the ordinary of Wróclaw is in Introduction to Eductus Coluber tortuosus p. 15-17. I would just cite here short pertinent part of that letter: "sed et alias multiplices polemicas materias, velut alter aevi noster Bellarminus, patria nobis lingua edere valeat: quale praetactum idem de permanentia Eucharistiae edidit in emolumentum multorum milium, non modo in Hungaria, verum et in adjacentibus, ad maternam velut domum Slavicae linguae filialibus Provinciis, Moravia (ubi etiam adhuc in montibus malum idem gliscit), Silesia (ubi pleno velut alveo Hydra haec pestilentissima toxicum suum effedisse visa est hoc decennio): denique et in Boemia" . . .

50. When Bernolák was giving new orthography to the Slovak language he used in Latin expression Slavi, Slavica lingua, or Slavonica linguae; The old and newer Rituals edited for territory of Slovakia before Slovak text had this headline: Slavice; Papánek writing Slovak history in Latin gave it inscription: Historia Gentis Slavae, etc . . .

51. Cf. Extractus protocollorum Comitatus Trenchiniensis circa publicatas Armales ab anno 1571. County archives Trenčín, p. 178 seq . . . Series Gremialium Nobilium N-us 3-us. Ibidem. Matricula Ecclesiae Dubniczensis sub Patrocinio Divi Apostoli Jacobi erectae et Fundatae Curata per me Andream Toltt sumptibus Ecclesiae anno 1667. Dubnica Parish archives, etc.

52. M. Bencsik: Novissima Dieta Nobilissima Principis Statuumque, et Ordinum Incliti Regni Hungariae, Partiumque Eidem Annexionum. Tyrnaviae, 1722.

53. J. B. Magin: Murices . . . part III, p. 94, 109. The names are the same which are mentioned and praised in the preface of Dubnicay's ECT. Magin in about mentioned place said about those nobles that "they every time honored and esteemed the Slovak Nation". From the Latin and Slovak manuscripts in Dubnica archives we see the very close cooperation between these two friends Dubnicay and Magin in various fields. J. B. Magin was the one who wrote the epitaph in Latin on the tomb of dead Št. Dubnicay. This epitaph and latin biography of Dubnicay is in manuscript: Visitatio Ecclesiae Teplensis. Parish archives in Tr. Teplá. Dubnicay was burried in the church of Dubnica under the altar, which he paid to be build in this church. He was then burried under this altar cf: Epitaph:

Hanc a se structam Stephanus Dubniczay ad Aram  
Conditus est testans cum pietate Fidem:  
Sicut enim vivens caeli quaesivit Honorem  
Sic colit in Templo post sua fata Deum.

Et verbo et scripto bellum torquebat in Hostem  
Haeresim, an Christi non fuit ille Pugill?  
Justitiae idcirco jam possidet ille Coronam,  
Quam Justus Judex reddidit Ipse Deus.

54. Even if there were differences in opinions and polemics, as e. g. between Benczík and Magin, generally speaking there was a remarkable peace between the individual nationalities of the "Marian Kingdom" during the Latin era and until the Hungarian chauvinism disrupted Hungary.

Concerning the details about Magin's and Dubnicay's donations to rereligious and charitable institutions we may read more in a manuscript in the parish house of Dubnica "Historia Parochiae Oppidi Dubnicza" pod titulom "Parochus Septimus" "Maginus hic Parochus" etc.

This gives details of his legacies and foundations for Masses and other good works . . .

55. J. Kohút — Literárne listy, 1895. II

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**Philip A. Hrobak**

**PHILIP A. HROBAK****(May 1, 1904 — January 10, 1964)**

We were witnesses to honors paid to Philip A. Hrobak . . . in life . . . and in death. The dynamic Jednota editor for a quarter of a century performed gigantic tasks with devotion and courage. Father of nine, he extended his work far beyond his immediate family circle to the Slovak family scattered around the world. To characterize "Phil" (as he was known affectionately to his closest friends . . . who were many) as a dedicated man is, in his case, an understatement, for the range of his activities inspired by the hollowed motto of the Jednota, "Za Boha a národ," reached to the far corners of the globe, wherever his fellow Slovak countrymen found a new home.

A crusader for truth and justice, and stout-hearted champion of the Slovak nation's right to a free, democratic, self-governing state in a country that his ancestors inhabited since the 5th or 6th century after Christ, "Phil" was an ideal editor whose vision never clouded, whose zeal did not diminish, and whose hopes never dimmed despite insurmountable odds arrayed against a cause that was sacred to him until his untimely death.

We, who knew 'Phil' and loved him for his genial personality, long admired his magnanimity of spirit, and grasped his hand in warm friendship over the years, renew our pledge to remain true to our common heritage, the sacred legacy of faith and freedom to which he dedicated a lifetime of service and devotion.

An American Slovak, Philip A. Hrobak, who enjoyed the freedom we all enjoy in our beloved America, was not content to treat this great democratic gift (taken for granted by so many) with complacency. He understood both the letter and the spirit of American freedom and sought to have its meaning become a reality in the oppressed land of the Slovak forefathers. Hence, his relentless drive to have this message heard and acted upon in the councils of the

United Nations where the destinies of nations are determined . . . that he and his colleagues so far have not succeeded is no fault of theirs. But some day that Message must be heard, for God placed the aspiration to liberty in the heart of every man; and every nation that He created has the right to freedom.

In life 'Phil' wore his honors lightly but gratefully. In death the outpouring of so many of his friends was proof of a living testimony of esteem, affection and high regard for a man who was dedicated to noble ideals of faith and freedom under God. The presence of an overflow congregation and thirty Slovak priests at the funeral Mass offered up by one of his closest friends, Abbot Theodore Kojiš, O.S.B. . . . the moving eulogy by both Msgr. Milos Mlynarovich and the Rt. Rev. Abbot . . . the heartfelt singing of Requiem Mass by the Benedictine priest and clerics . . . the attendance of his fellow Supreme Officers of the First Catholic Slovak Union, as well as Supreme Officers of the fraternal organizations, such as the Ženská Jednota, the Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union and others . . . the Slovak League of America headed by Dr. Peter P. Hletko, M.D., president . . . all these external manifestations of respect betoken a deep and abiding love for one of the greatest American Slovak leaders of all time.

Slovakia's national freedom, for which Hrobak fought indefatigably, and with such flaming courage, will surely come . . . and the establishment of a free, Slovak state in the heart of Europe will one day witness the Slovak nation's tribute to the memory of a truly great American Slovak.

Rev. Andrew Pier, O. S. B.

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"The Slovaks are not only the oldest Slovanic inhabitants of the Danube Basin, but also the oldest cultured nation on the middle Danube." — Philip A. Hrobak

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### WHO WAS HROBAK?

The answers to this question were eloquently and beautifully phrased in a number of immortal quotes from two eulogies at the Requiem Mass for Philip A. Hrobak at SS. Cyril and Methodius Church, Lakewood, Ohio, on January 15, 1964. Taken from Msgr. Milos Mlynarovich's sermon:

"Today a new and eternal light shines on our Slovak hearth and in the Church, for Philip, our departed brother, was a shining light of virtue throughout his life . . . and now in death his immortal memory remains an inspiration of faith and devotion for the ages."

"He was a devoted husband, a kind father, a fearless champion of the oppressed Slovak nation, a crusader for truth and justice, a faithful member of the Jednota and a fine leader of the Slovak League of America. More than that . . . he was a man of God, an outstanding Catholic layman."

Taken from Abbot Theodore Kojiš eulogy:

"A good and faithful servant he now has his reward from Almighty God. As an excellent teacher, a brilliant writer and author, a good family man, but above all Philip Hrobak was an exemplary Christian leader. We thank God for having given us such a man whose star now shines in the heavens as a guiding light to all of us."

"A great nation honors its great men. How much more should we, the proud descendants of a small nation, honor a man who in his lifetime battled with unbowed head against great odds. Never once did he admit defeat. Truly a great warrior has fallen. We strongly believe he has won everlasting glory as we, the living, pay homage to his memory."

Philip A. Hrobak died in the Harrisburg Hospital January 10, 1964 at 12:55 P. M.

Philip A. Hrobak, Editor-in-Chief of the Jednota weekly, official publication of the First Catholic Slovak Union in Middletown, Pa., was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 1, 1904. He received his early elementary education in St. Wendelin's parochial school and continued at the Jednota Home in Middletown, Pa. His high school and college education was completed under the Benedictine in St. Procopius Academy and St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill. After teaching there

from 1924 to 1927, he continued his studies at New York University, where he was also an associate teacher during his postgraduate course of training. In 1929 he went to Cleveland where he was a teacher at Benedictine High School for 8 years. He taught Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Latin, Slovak and other subjects, and was for a number of years football coach.

Since 1937 after his election as Jednota editor, Hrobak was editor-in-chief of the Jednota weekly which has a circulation of 40,000. Moreover, from 1950 to 1962 he was president of the Slovak League of America, and from 1962 was a member of the executive committee.

In addition to his regular weekly duties of editing the Jednota newspaper Philip Hrobak edited the Kalendár (annual); the Furdek annual, (since 1961); the Slovak Newsletter (official publication of the Slovak League); Slovakia, a cultural, political, social and historical annual publication since 1950. The latter is a rich source of material on Slovak history, people, customs, etc. Besides, he was the author of a number of Slovak language textbooks, grammars and English-Slovak dictionary.

As an authority on the Slovak people and their history here and their homeland, Philip Hrobák published numerous articles in both English and Slovak.

He was married to Rose Jasko on August 26, 1931, in Lakewood, Ohio. Mr. and Mrs. Philip A. Hrobák had nine children: Philip, Jr., Rosemary, Stephen, Joann, Robert, James, Mary Lou, Michael and Joseph. He is also survived by six grandchildren, by a brother Michael and a sister Maria.

Philip Hrobák belonged to the following societies: First Catholic Slovak Union, First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union, Slovak League of America, Slovak Catholic Federation, Elks, Moose; he was also a member of the Slovak Institute in Cleveland, Ohio, and was the first American Slovak leader to receive the Hlinka silver award (1957).

In Slovak circles Philip Hrobák was considered to be one of the outstanding leaders in education, journalism, fraternal and national affairs, as well as an exemplary Catholic layman whose contribution to the Church and the country are immeasurably great.

## CONSTANTINE ČULEN (1904-1964)



An outstanding newspaperman, writer on cultural and political history and a courageous fighter for his people's freedom and independence, Constantine Čulen was born February 26, 1904 in Brodské in Slovakia.

He received his primary education at a time when Slovakia was still a part of Austria-Hungary, and secondary education in Czechoslovakia, at a high school in Skalica and at an engineering school in Bratislava, capital city of Slovakia.

His strong inclination to

writing and public speaking led him in his early school years to journalism and later to writings on the political and cultural subjects pertaining to the national struggles of the Slovak people. His first book, *The Years of Slovak Hopes and Disappointments* appeared in 1932, when Čulen was 28 years of age, and won him acclaim and a literary prize.

Even though he remained an employee in the civil service of the Ministry of Transport, he published nearly every year a book on historical, political and literary subjects. Altogether, 34 books and several manuscripts, besides a great number of articles and short studies, were written and published by Čulen between the year 1932 and 1964. Some books and studies appeared also in foreign languages, namely English and German.

During his lifetime, Čulen was closely linked with the United States, where he died on April 7th, 1964 at the University Hospital in New York. He came to the U.S.A. first as a child, later, in 1935, as a member of a delegation of Matica Slovenská, Slovakia's Academy of History, Arts and

Science. In 1938 he came again as a cultural attaché at the Legation of Czechoslovakia in Washington, but before the end of 1939 he returned to Slovakia, where he achieved great popularity as a member of Parliament, journalist and public speaker. Soon, however, he came into conflict with Germans, and, being a staunch adversary of Communism, he left Slovakia at the end of the Second World War. For several years he lived in Canada as editor-in-chief of a Slovak newspaper *Kanadský Slovák*, and since 1953 he was a resident of the United States.

From 1938, when his book on the *Pittsburgh Agreement* appeared in Slovakia, Čulen wrote a score of books and studies and thousands of articles pertaining to the history, cultural and social activities of American Slovaks, including *History of American Slo-*

*vaks*, in two volumes. His *History of the Slovaks in New York* as published in instalments even after his death.

In his literary works as well as in his journalistic writings, Čulen never ceased to wage a staunch defence of Slovakia's right to self-determination and was a merciless critic of the oppressors of Slovakia. He was a member of all Slovak literary institutions and recipient of several literary prizes, and of two high honor awards from the Slovak republic. In exile, he was vice-president of the Slovak National Council Abroad, member of the Slovak Institute of Cleveland, and contributor to nearly all Slovak newspapers and periodicals in the free world. The Communist regime condemned him in absentia to 20 years. His untimely death is regretted by thousands of Slovaks over the world.

JMK

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"What the Slovaks brought from America they sought to validate at home. The American way of life encouraged and directed their plans in Slovakia. Slovak life waxed strong even during the hardest times, because it was nourished materially and ideologically by a current of material and spiritual wealth from America.

"In the recent past, American Slovaks formed the most nationalistic group of the Slovak nation. What the Slovak at home could not say, the Slovak in America expressed for him. It is undoubtedly an interesting reality that the wide Slovak masses became ardent nationalists in America. And the fact that Slovak newspapers became an indispensable necessity of the Slovak people, that, too, must be credited to America." — CONSTANTINE ČULEN

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**BOOK REVIEW**

*Slovakia — A Political History 1918-1950* by Joseph A. Mikus, The Marquette University Press Milwaukee, Wisc. 1963, XXXIII - 392 pages. Appendices, Bibliography, statistical tables, indices.

Not only scholars but anyone interested in the problems of Central Eastern Europe will find in Mikus' book a serious attempt at a scholarly analysis and an objective presentation of Slovakia's history in the pre-war and post-war Czechoslovakia. Since Prague remains the most faithful satellite of Moscow, the book might be of great interest also for students of East-West relations.

The original French edition published in 1955, was received by many critics in Europe and in United States as a valuable contribution to an understanding of Central European history. The English edition, in its revised and completed form, will serve that purpose now in the Anglo-Saxon cultural orbit, where, for years, many misconceptions on Slovakia and Czechoslovakia were spread, not only through political media, but also by scholarly works.

By contradicting the accept-

ed versions of Czechoslovakia's history, the book is bound to be labeled as controversial, even if the author (former diplomat and lecturer in history at an American university) supports his conclusions with a rich abundance of documents, statistics and careful analysis of events. Serious students of Central European history would, however, value the book for this reason even higher, since the monotony of Czech versions is broken by a well founded and academically elaborate challenge. Historiography on Slovakia in English, so far represented only by a few scholarly works (R. W. Seton-Watson, C. A. Macartney, J. M. Kirschbaum, G. L. Oddo), is undoubtedly enriched by this volume, and even if some interpretations were already formulated in other English writings of Slovak authors, Mikus' book is larger in scope, more detailed and covers a longer period than any other of the recent English publications by Slovak authors.

Besides being "a study of the internal weaknesses of Czechoslovakia as reflected in the political, cultural, economic, and social relations of the

Czechs and Slovaks" the book contains also a positive approach to the future of Central Europe. The author rightly sees the only durable solution in "the political, military and economic integration of Central Europe, which would respect the national personalities and self-government of all peoples". Needless to say, the book advocates democracy and unveils all the mistakes and inadequacy of the present Communist regime in Slovakia, a country with thousand years old Christian traditions.

The value of the book is enhanced by many documents as well as by the fact that literature in several languages was used by the author to support his conclusions.

J. M. Kirschbaum

*Challenge of the Steppes*  
by Joseph F. Rudinsky, D. D.,  
L.L.D. Robert Speller and  
Sons, New York, 1963, XX  
342 pages. Index.

Among several books which try to explain to the American reader the phenomenon of the Soviet expansion in Central Europe, this book by an outstanding Slovak intellectual and former professor at the School of Political science in Prague, is different by its approach and method. Unlike

the other writings of Central European refugee politicians or authors, Rudinsky approaches the problems also from the philosophical and religious point of view and from centuries long development of Europe. There is no exaggeration in saying that the book is a thought provoking account of the age-old conflict between East and West from the time of the Huns to Stalin. Rudinsky's assertion that Marxism-Leninism of the Soviet brand is essentially a philosophy and way of life of semi-nomads seems logical and acceptable in his well founded analysis.

In this age-long conflict, the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe had acted as barricades against Eastern invaders in Rudinsky's view and, therefore, the book deals with the problem of Austria-Hungary and with the states and politicians who came after the dismemberment of the Habsburg empire. Even if there are numerous books on this subject, Rudinsky brings new observations and treats the old empire with much more objectivity than it was done — especially by Czech writers — until now. His analysis of the collapse of the Empire and of the policy of the new states in Central Eastern Europe be-

tween the two wars is a valuable contribution to the history of that area.

With its chapter on Czechoslovakia and the policy of Dr. E. Beneš, the book also completes the writings of other Slovak authors (Durčanský, Kirschbaum, Mikuš, Paučo, Culen, Durica, Vnuk, etc.), not only by Rudinsky's first hand knowledge of Dr. Beneš and Prague government's policy toward Slovakia (he was a close confidence-man of Dr. M. Hodža), but also by the approach to the subject. While the Slovak writers on political matters rather follow the descriptive method and sober style of American political literature, Dr. Rudinsky's style and approach to the subject reminds us of the French political school of the pre-war generation. Methodically the book is also different. It is composed of several essays which are linked together only by the general idea. It is, in any case, a book of interest and a refined intellectual reading material.

— jk

*Slovak Literary History in Marxist Interpretations.* By J. M. Kirschbaum, Ph. D., A reprint from Canadian Slavonic Papers, published by University of Toronto Press, 1964.

Slovak literature being either unknown or misinterpreted in American symposia on Slavic civilization, is a study that will be welcome by students of literatures and professors, but also by many educated Americans of Slovak and Slavic background. It is, so far, the best and most complete English survey and introduction to Slovak literature. The author, former professor of Slavic civilization at the Department of Slavic studies in Montreal, used an abundance of sources in several languages to present Slovak literature in a new and objective light.

The author proves the thesis, maintained by Western literary historians, that Slovak literature began only in the 19th century is without foundation. This misconception was spread, says the writer, mainly by Czech scholars and foreign slavists educated at Czech universities. According to Marxist scholars, Slovak history of literature goes back to the period of St. Cyril and Methodius and literature in Slovakia developed in several languages before the Slovak vernacular was codified by Anton Bernolák in the 18th century.

The value of the study lies also in acquainting the reader with many sources in Slavic

or foreign languages which deal with Slovak literature. The Marxist interpretation seems to be treated for the first time in the English language in this concise and well written survey. Published in Canadian Slavonic Papers, whose editors are several outstanding Canadian Slavists, the study undoubtedly went through a thorough examination before printed, which adds to its value.

J. P.

*An Outline of Slovakia's Struggle for Independence.* By J. M. Kirschbaum, LL.D., Ph. D. Published by the Canadian Slovak League, Toronto, 1964. 40 pages, illustrated appendices, bibliography.

The controversial subject of Slovakia's independence is treated in this concise publication with the evident aim to refute the false legends which the hostile propaganda of the Czech and Communist politicians spread in the West. The booklet was published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the declaration of Slovakia's independence, but its value is far greater than is usual with publications written

for celebrating anniversaries of political events.

In five short chapters the author gathered all the evidence available in diplomatic and other sources to prove that Slovakia's striving for independence developed independently of German policy and that Berlin for some time preferred other solutions. The chapter on international recognition of the Slovak Republic also shows that originally Great Britain, the Soviet Union and some other 30 states established diplomatic or consular relations with Slovakia and not only Germany and the Axis, as tendenciously write American sources on the Second World War.

The closing chapters give an account on Sovietization of Slovakia and on the prospects of Slovak democracy. Three appeals for Slovakia's freedom, recorded in the Congress of the United States, some statistical data and bibliography complete the picture and make of this concise publication a source of useful information for politicians, diplomats and students of history of Central Europe.

J. P.

independence, the right of every nation to freely choose its own form of government and freely elect persons of its own choice by whom it shall be governed;

- condemns and unequivocally opposes all forms of tyranny, every form of totalitarian political system. The Slovak League of America has always recognized the Godless philosophy of materialistic Communism for the dread evil and conspiracy against free humanity that it is, as the political system which threatens mankind with utter enslavement and, therefore, has fought resolutely against it in and out of season and, today, is still determined to fight against it with all the means at its command until the dread plague of Communism is wiped off the face of the earth;
- firmly believes that the national existence and welfare of the Slovak nation can best be safeguarded by the Slovaks themselves in their own independent Slovak Republic;
- as a Christian and democratic organization, is resolutely against the domination and exploitation of the Slovak nation by any other nation or political state; the Slovaks did not want to be ruled over by the Magyars and, today, do not want to be subservient to the Czech nation;
- heartily commends all efforts of our governmental and other organs to ferret out and unmask all Communists and fellow travellers, as well as all persons and organizations who wittingly or unwittingly give aid and comfort to the conspiracy of Communism promoted by the Soviet Union;
- stands for honesty, integrity, industry and justice in government.

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